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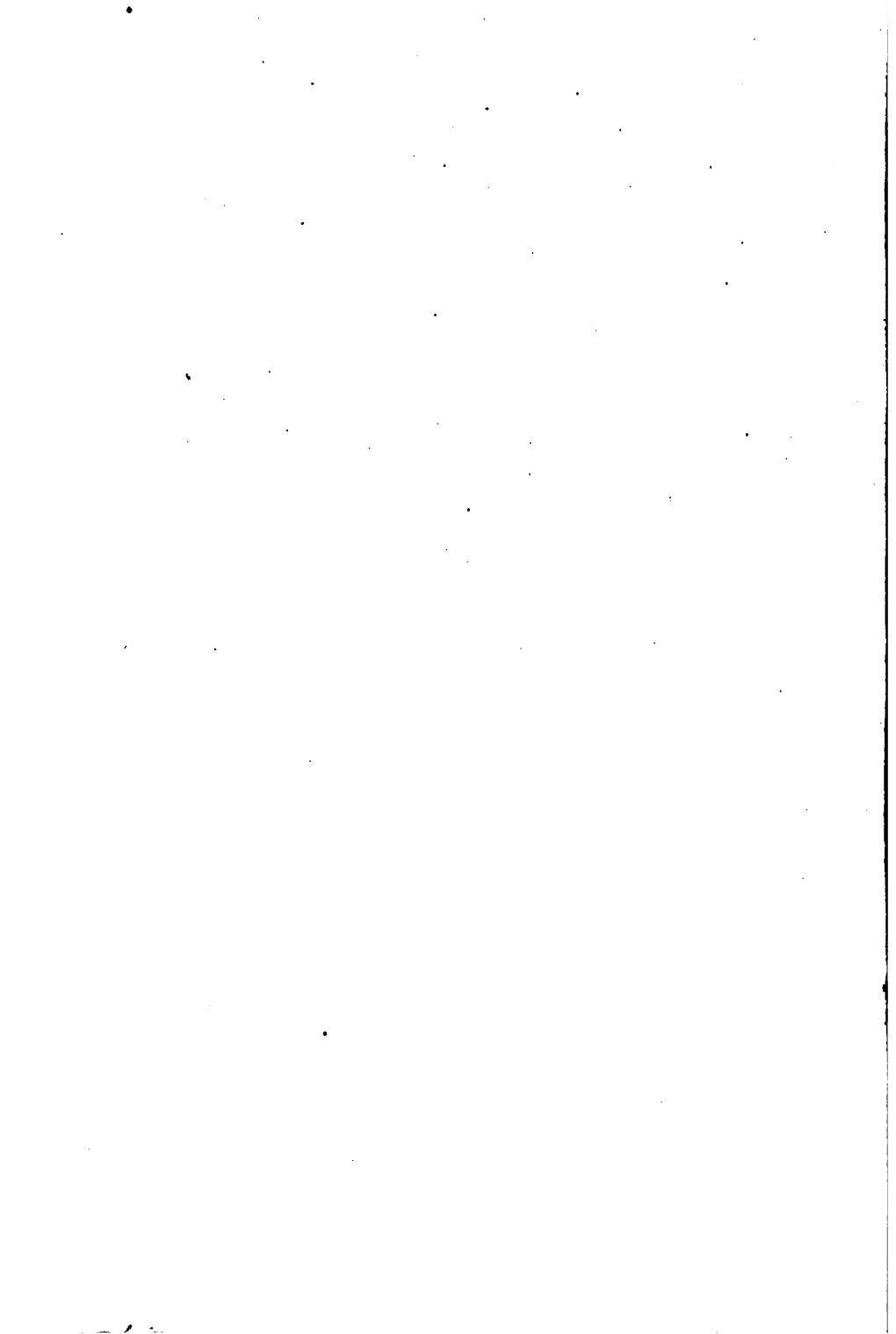
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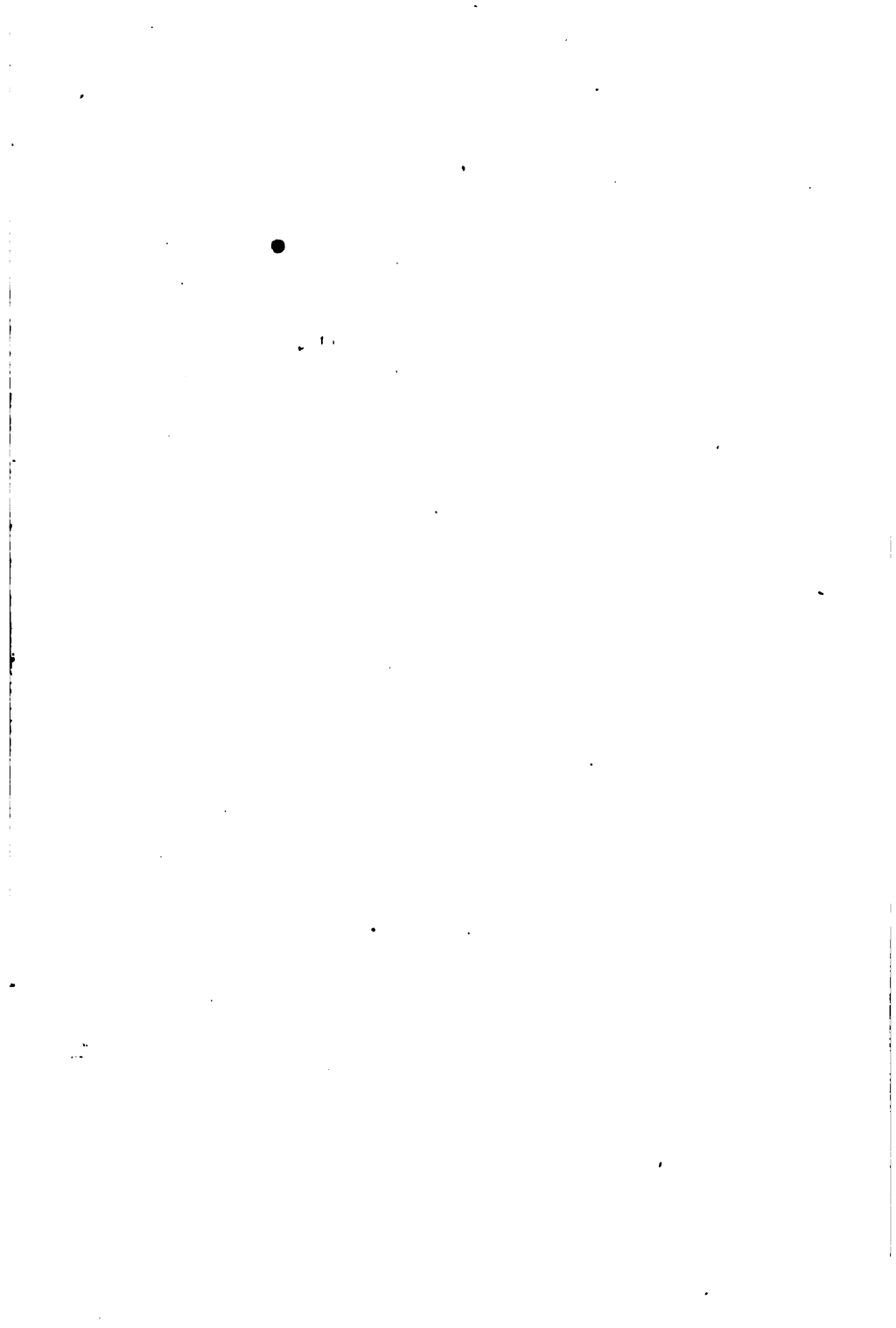
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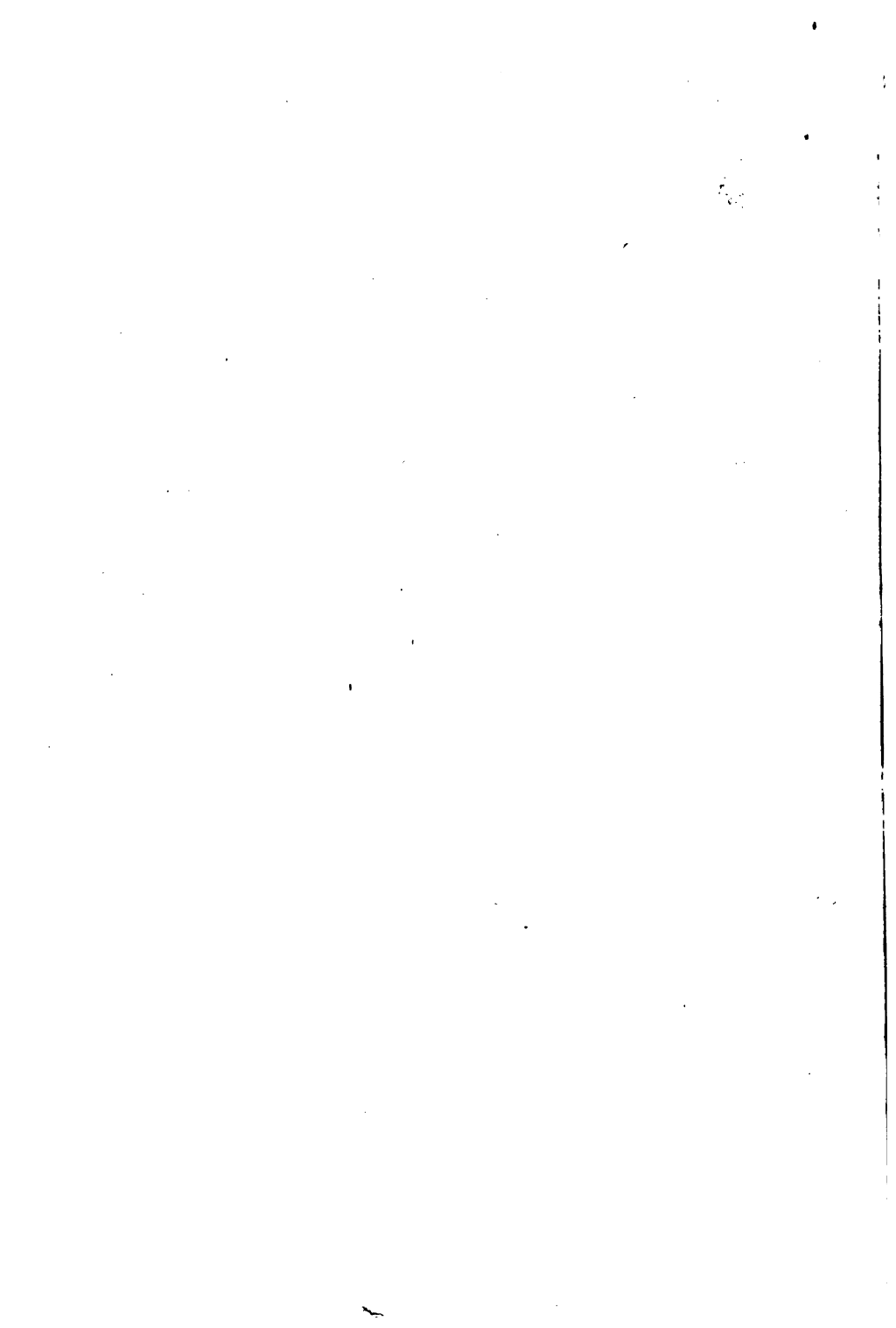
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**BRIEF HISTORY OF THE
LOUISIANA TERRITORY**

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P R E F A C E .

The extraordinary revival of interest in all sorts of information regarding the Louisiana Purchase calls for a historical manual, brief, accurate, and readable, which the extensive literature of the Territory does not at present contain. This volume is an attempt to supply such a want. It consists of the revised copy of four lectures delivered before the Washington University Association on the Mary Hemenway Foundation. The author lays no claim to exhaustive use of original sources but has examined the wide range of literature touching upon the history of the Purchase Territory and accepted well authenticated facts wherever found. Special acknowledgments of aid and kindness are due to Miss Louise Dalton in charge of the Missouri Historical Society Library, 1600 Locust Street, and to Dean Marshall S. Snow and Chancellor Winfield S. Chaplin of Washington University.

St. Louis, April 25, 1904.

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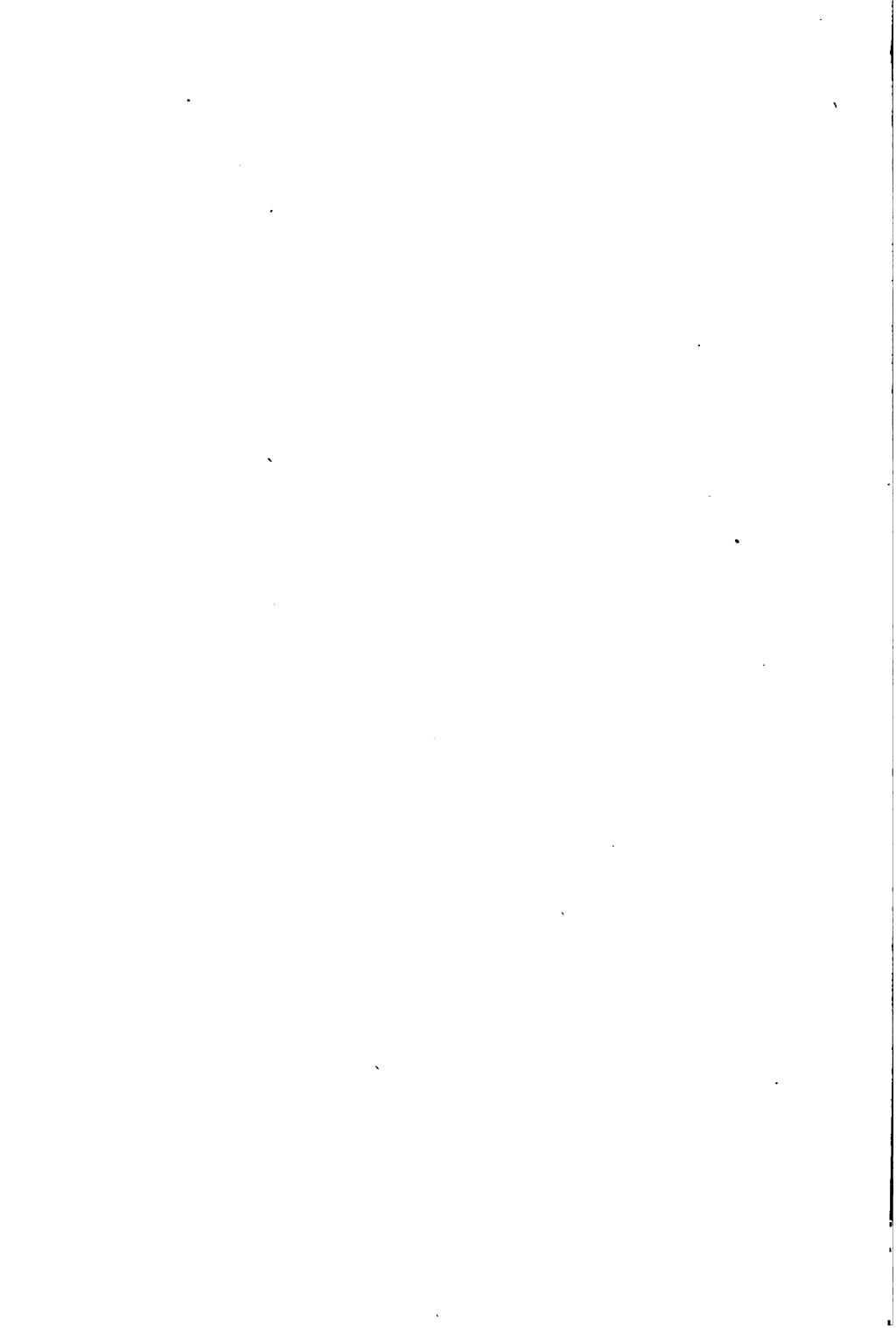
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**BRIEF HISTORY OF THE
LOUISIANA TERRITORY.**



CHAPTER I.

LA SALLE AND NEW FRANCE.

NATIONS no less than individuals possess a variety of characteristics which give them success along different lines of activity. This truth is strikingly illustrated in the early history of the New World. The Spanish and Portuguese did most of the work of discovery and exploration by sea; the French were the most noted explorers by land and the most brilliant administrators over a widely extended territory and a diversified native population; and, while the English did little of the work of discovery and exploration, they were the most successful colonizers. With regard to the Mississippi valley, it may be said that the Spanish discovered it, the French explored it and conceived the idea of constructing therein a great empire, and the Anglo-Saxon settled it and developed resources and a population beyond anything of which the boldest French pioneer ever dreamed.

The discovery of the Mississippi was the work of Hernando De Soto. He had been conspicuous in the ruthless conquest of Peru, and was later the Spanish Governor of Cuba. Landing on the coast of Florida with nearly six hundred well-equipped men he plunged boldly into the wilderness and after months of hardship and suffering, discovered the Mississippi river; but it was only to be buried beneath its turbid waters, while his followers fled down its friendly current, glad to escape from the Eldorado of their dreams which had proved rather to be a nightmare of misery and death. The discovery passed out of men's minds, and a century and a quarter later, when the French explorers floated down the same majestic stream, they were unconscious that any European had ever before gazed upon its banks.

The attention of France was called to the New World during a war with Spain which was begun in 1521. The exchequer of Spain was being gorged with gold and silver from the mines of Mexico, and the ambitious Francis I. decided that he would like to have his treasury supplied in the same way. In 1524 Verrazano was sent out to explore the regions north of Mexico, in the hope of finding gold and a northwest passage to the Orient. He skirted the American coast from North Carolina to Maine, and returned with the best map of the coast made during the epoch. Ten years later Jacques Cartier landed further to the north, and finally sailed up the St. Lawrence river as far as Montreal. In 1540 Roberval attempted to plant a colony in Canada, but failed. In 1562-65 followed Coligny's noble but unfortunate attempt to make a settlement in Florida. It was wiped out in cold blood by the Spaniards, forming a tragedy which has been most graphically portrayed by Francis Parkman in his "Pioneers of France in the New World."

It was not until the opening of the next century that France succeeded in planting a permanent colony in the New World. The chimera of mines bursting with wealth and streams whose beds were studded with pearls had vanished, and the prospect of fortunes to be made in the fur trade and the New Foundland fisheries now lured on the adventurers. In 1603 the Sieur de Monts obtained a monopoly of the fur trade, with permission to plant colonies in a large tract of land extending from New York to Cape Breton, known as Acadia. Port Royal was settled the next year, and in 1608 Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec. Champlain was cheerful, brave, adventurous, high-minded, a man of culture, shrewd, and enterprising; a hero worthy of France and of his reputation as the founder of Canada. The early history of America furnishes no more gallant and attractive character. He made the one mistake of alienating the Iroquois Confederacy, but that was probably necessary, or at least defensible. No magnificent cavalcade of adventurers, backed by the treasures of Mexico and Peru, were at his com-

mand; he had to depend upon Indian allies, and without the aid of the Algonquins, which meant the fatal enmity of the Five Tribes, he could not have explored the strategic regions about the lake which bears his name. He remained in New France, guiding her destinies with ability and discretion until his death in 1685.

Before the death of Champlain trading-posts and missions had been planted along the banks of the St. Lawrence at Tadoussac, Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and the Jesuits had penetrated the western wilds and were baptising the naked savages on the coast of Lake Huron. But the growth of New France was slow. The interests of the adventurers who held a monopoly of the fur trade were opposed to the extension of settlements. A growth of population would divide their profits. Moreover, the class of pioneers was inferior. Few of them were animated by any high motives, while a vast majority were driven on solely by the free life of the wilderness, and the lust of trade. Montaigne's famous complaint that if you "Put three Frenchmen into the deserts of Lybia, they will not live a month together without fighting," is eminently justifiable. This spirit lost to France an empire in India, and in the early history of America, jealousies, bickerings, and petty squabbles over every conceivable situation were constant. The Franciscans opposed the Jesuits, and both opposed the Huguenots, who of all Frenchmen were most capable of success in colonizing America. The traders were always ready to cut each other's throats, and were continually harassed by the "*coureurs-de-bois*," a sort of French "poor white trash" who lived among the Indians, and carried on an independent traffic in spite of the fur trade monopoly. The support from France was vacillating and uncertain, yet the colonial authorities of the mother country were ever ready to interfere, and their meddlesome changes of policy added not a little to the turbulence of the colony. Nor was the friendship of the Indians, which the Frenchman, with his facile and adaptable nature, was able to obtain much more easily than the exclu-

sive Englishman, wholly to be relied upon; for as soon as they found the French trader unable to defend himself, they were no less ready to take his scalp than his hatchets in return for furs. Only the devotion of the missionaries with the skill of a few of the leaders was able to save the colony from destruction.

Under such conditions the colony drifted until, in 1661, the young Louis XIV. assumed personal control of the government of France. He took great interest in New France, adopted it as a foster child, and injured it by excessive paternal care, rather than by neglect. Richelieu had established autocratic government in Canada in the early part of the century, and Louis XIV. now strengthened it by sending out three able men to take charge of affairs and inaugurate a new era. They were Marquis de Tracy, military commandant, in charge of all military affairs; Sieur de Courcelle, governor, who was to have charge of the general enterprises of the colony; and Jean Baptiste Talon, intendant, whose duties were to regulate the minor affairs of the colony and guard the actions of the other two. Large reinforcements came over, bringing the best army America had yet seen.

Canada immediately took on new life. An expedition of six hundred French regulars marched into the heart of the Iroquois country and terrified the Long House into peace for twenty years. They were then ready for Western exploration. About 1640 a settlement had been made as far west as the Sault St. Marie and a missionary post established among the Indians on the borders of Green Bay, Wisconsin. Just before the death of Champlain, he had sent out Jean Nicollet to explore this region. Nicollet had been given by Champlain as a hostage to the Indians to bind a treaty of peace and to be trained as an interpreter for future dealings. He had been adopted and lived among the Ottawas and Nipissungs for sixteen years, and had just returned to the settlements. Champlain had heard of a race of beardless men beyond the great lakes and a "great water" still beyond. Who could doubt that these were Orientals and the great water beyond the Indian Ocean? Nicollet set out in

1635 with a small party, taking along a Chinese robe of brilliantly flowered damask, in which to greet the Mongolians beyond Lake Michigan. He reached the vicinity and sent some of his Indian attendants to announce his coming. Then, arraying himself in his Chinese robe, and waiving a pistol in each hand, he advanced to meet the expectant savages, for they were none other than the tribe of Winnebago Indians. The women and children fled screaming with terror, but the warriors looked on in admiration and envy. A great feast was prepared, in which a hundred and twenty beavers were devoured, and Nicollet passed on. He crossed over to the Wisconsin river, and descended so far that he could report on his return that in three days more he would have reached the sea. The water which he called the sea was what the Indians called the "Messipi;" none other than the great river which nearly a hundred years before had kept from savage desecration the body of De Soto.

The report of this journey aroused in the Jesuits and others a great desire to solve the mystery of the forests and learn what became of the great water which was soon reported to be a river. This desire first took tangible form in the heart of a heroic young Frenchman who had recently come over to Canada from Rouen, Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle. He was the son of a wealthy merchant and had received a good education. Early in life he seems to have been fascinated by the mighty religious organization which was then making its force felt throughout the world and allied himself with the Jesuits. But his towering ambition and consciousness of ability chafed under its machine-like routine, and he withdrew from the order with a reputation for scholarship, unimpeachable integrity, and a determination which nothing could shake. His connection with the Jesuits had cut off his inheritance and with very limited resources he started for Canada where his brother was a priest of St. Sulpice. It is probable that before leaving France he had formed a stern resolve to carve out of the Western wilderness a name for himself and an empire for France. At any rate, as soon as he arrived

at Montreal in 1666, he was offered some land above the La Chine rapids on the extreme frontier in a very dangerous position, and immediately settled upon it. The grant had been made because such an estate would be in the line of attack from the Indians, and serve as a warning to the priests of the Seminary; it was accepted because it was a post of advantage in carrying on the fur trade, and gave La Salle a good chance to study the Indian languages and customs. This opportunity was assiduously used, and he was soon master of a number of Indian dialects. From a party of Senecas he heard much of a river called the Ohio, or Beautiful River, which was so long that it took many months to traverse it. Common report apprised him of the geography beyond the great lakes. Like nearly all of the early explorers his imagination flew across the wild and lonely regions that stretched away toward the sunset and he dreamed of new avenues of commerce and riches in traffic with China and Japan. The long river mentioned by the Senecas was doubtless the Ohio and Mississippi merged into one, and La Salle thought it must flow into the "Vermilion Sea." This sea was the Gulf of California, and La Salle thought it would open up a western passage to China.

La Salle was a man of action, and his resolution was soon formed. He hastened to Quebec to obtain the permission of the government to make his intended exploration. The cost was to be borne by himself, and since he had no money, it took nearly all of his estate to purchase four canoes with supplies and hire fourteen men for the expedition. It was midsummer, 1669, when the party set out. Soon the Indians became hostile, a large part of the men forsook him, but nothing daunted the resolution of La Salle. He pushed on to the Ohio, and floated down to the rapids near Louisville. During the next year he went northward, crossed Lake Erie, ascended the Detroit river, passed through Lake Huron, thence to Lake Michigan. From Lake Michigan he ascended the Chicago river, crossed the portage to the Illinois, and descended it far towards the Mississippi. Tradition says that La Salle reached the Mississippi by both the

Ohio and the Illinois, but this is not probable. He had discovered these two rivers, however, gained confidence, broadened his ideas, and returned ready to promulgate his larger plan.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to leave La Salle, and trace another expedition of importance. The governor and intendent of France had become interested in the discovery of the Mississippi. For this purpose an expedition was planned and put in charge of Louis Joliet. Joliet was a native of Canada, having been born in Quebec in 1645. He was educated by the Jesuits, but, like La Salle, had renounced the priesthood to become a merchant. There was no spark of genius in his make-up. He was simply an intelligent, courageous, prudent leader; possessed of abundant enterprise and sound judgment. A Jesuit priest, Jacques Marquette, was sent along as secretary of the expedition. Marquette was an excellent linguist, possessed of a gentle and poetic nature, a rare spiritual insight and elevation of character, coupled with the courage of a knight and the endurance of an Indian.

On a May day of 1673 these two men with five companions and two birch canoes, supplied with an abundance of smoked meat and Indian corn, turned their faces toward the unknown West. They plied their paddles by day and drew up their canoes into the edge of the forest where they encamped by night. Passing along the northern shores of Lake Michigan, they glided into Green Bay, thence up the Fox river past Lake Winnebago, and carrying their canoes across the narrow portage, they embarked on the placid waters of the Wisconsin. They were warned by the Indians not to venture further, because the tribes beyond were ferocious, and the forests and rivers were inhabited by demons. But on they floated, down the current which led they knew not where—perhaps to the Vermilion Sea, possibly to the Gulf of Mexico, or perchance to the South Sea. One month after starting, to their inexpressible joy, they glided out upon the blue waters of the Mississippi, and turned their prows to the Southward. For days the solitudes along the

stream were unrelieved by the faintest trace of man, but after a fortnight they reached the Indian village of Peoria, where they were feasted and again advised to retrace their journey. Unheeding, they re-embarked, floated past the mouth of the Illinois, and soon their canoes were tossing about in the surging vortex formed by the mighty Missouri, whose angry current rushed in with a momentum that could only have been acquired by coursing through unknown vasts of barbarism to the West.

Recovering from their fright, they continued on their way down the swollen current, past St. Louis, beyond the mouth of the Beautiful River; on and on, until they reached the lands of the Arkansas. Here they landed and after a narrow escape, succeeded in making friends with the Indians. The increasing danger of the situation now led to a serious council regarding a change of policy. They had gone far enough to prove that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the South Sea or the Gulf of California, and would it not be better to return and report progress preparatory to a more extended enterprise? They thought so, and beneath the sultry rays of a July sun, they set out to toil against the gloomy current and to drive their canoes up the river and thence to the Canadian settlements on the St. Lawrence. Marquette sickened, but his indomitable spirit encouraged the others. Reaching the mouth of the Illinois, they ascended it and slowly made their way to the mission settlement on Green Bay, where Marquette was left to a lingering death, while Joliet passed on to Montreal to report the result of the expedition.

While Joliet and Marquette were gliding down the bosom of the Mississippi, La Salle was making a friend of the new governor, Frontenac, and recovering from the bankruptcy into which his last explorations had plunged him. Even before their return, he surmised that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, and when this notion was confirmed, his dreams began to materialize into plans. He had been opposed in all of his work by the Jesuits; he had been ridiculed and persecuted by

the Canadian traders; why not leave to them the icy regions of the St. Lawrence, and found a new empire in the mild and fertile valley of the Mississippi? The bold genius of a natural soldier and frontiersman was his, and he readily blocked out the elements of his plan. If he could erect a fortified post at the mouth of the Mississippi, it would serve as a defense against both England and Spain. Then a regular line of forts and trading posts could be established from Ontario to the Gulf, and the whole trade of the Mississippi valley could be converged into the fort at its mouth, and thence to Europe by sea. According to the French theory of international law, the discovery of a river gave a tentative title to all of the lands drained by that river and its tributaries; how much more secure would be this title if that of occupation were added to that of discovery, and if a line of forts bearing aloft the *fleurs-de-lis* and bristling with French cannon warned the world that this territory from the Alleghanies to Mexico belonged to the King of France!

The scheme was brilliant and far-reaching, and success would require genius, daring, suffering; but La Salle was not daunted. With him, to form a plan meant an immediate and persevering effort to realize it. He appealed to Governor Frontenac, to whose imagination and ambition the idea appealed no less than to that of its originator. But the governor could lend no financial aid. The only resource was an appeal to *le Grand Monarque* of France. Consequently the autumn of 1677 finds him at the court of France, where he obtained permission to make the projected explorations, build forts, find a route to Mexico, and as a financial aid, he was given a monopoly of the trade in buffalo hides. He returned in 1678, and replaced with stone the wooden Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, which was the first in his chain of forts to be extended to the Gulf. He engaged forty men for the expedition down the Mississippi.

Two of these deserve special mention. Henri de Tonty was a Neapolitan officer, who had had a hand blown off in the Sicilian wars. He had the hand replaced by one of iron, over

which he wore a glove. From Italy he went to France, thence to Canada. He was sensible and brave, always loyal to La Salle, and his character was not badly typified by the Indian sobriquet of Iron Hand. The other was Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, whose love of adventure had brought him to New France. He went along as reporter for the expedition, and was not without usefulness. His ability was undoubted, and he deserves credit for the exploration of the upper Mississippi; but his claim that he first descended the Mississippi to its mouth, put forth after the death of La Salle, was so preposterous that he has gained as great a reputation for mendacity as George Washington for truthfulness.

La Salle first set about constructing the Griffin, the largest vessel yet built for the navigation of the Lakes. A party under Tonty was sent in advance to build Fort Niagara, the second link in the chain of forts. Late in 1678 La Salle set forth in the Griffin, and after a mutiny and various buffetings on the stormy lake, reached the southern end of Lake Michigan. Here he built the third in the line of forts at the mouth of the St. Joseph river in Michigan. Meanwhile, the Griffin had been sent back to the St. Lawrence with a cargo of furs to appease the greedy and frightened creditors, who had loaned La Salle money at forty per cent. interest, and had later threatened to prevent his departure, for fear that he would never return.

Early in 1679 La Salle and the remainder of his company pushed on through the wilderness and erected on the banks of the Illinois the fourth fort. It was appropriately named Fort Creve-coeur, or Heartbreak. The Griffin had long since been due with much needed supplies. It had either foundered on the lakes or been scuttled by a mutinous crew, and the little party on the Illinois were threatened by both famine and Indian massacre. It was under these circumstances that the heroic soul of La Salle formed a resolution that for courage and determination has never been surpassed. Before the ice of winter had left the streams, he set out with five companions to walk

through a dense wilderness, part of it infested with hostile Indians, over a thousand miles to Montreal; there to obtain supplies, return to Creve-coeur, which he left in the hands of his faithful lieutenant, Tonty, and then continue his work.

By the time La Salle and his companions had reached Lake Erie, the hardships had so exhausted them that La Salle alone had to ferry five sick men across to the fort on the Canadian shore. Taking three fresh men, he proceeded to Montreal, only to learn that the ship which was to come from France with supplies had been wrecked and everything lost. Moreover, as he was gathering supplies, a message arrived from Fort Heartbreak that the garrison had mutinied, driven out Tonty, pulled the block-house to pieces, and that they were now waiting on Lake Ontario to murder him on his return. With iron resolution he set out, captured the whole party, and sent them to the governor in chains; then proceeded on his way to the rescue of Tonty. This was done in the summer of 1680, and the autumn of 1681 saw him again on the road to the Mississippi. He had proved himself superior to his enemies, to the elements, and to a series of calamities that would have appalled any ordinary heart. But fortune now seemed to take up his cause. He set out by way of Ontario, Lake Michigan, the Chicago river, crossed the portage to the Illinois, descended it to the Mississippi, and floated on, week after week, until at last on April 9, 1682, the *fleurs-de-lis* were planted at its mouth and the great basin from the Alleghanies to the Rockies was declared to be the possession of the King of France, under the name of Louisiana. The period of discovery was complete; all that remained was to cinch the title by settlement. And this is where the vastness of La Salle's plan had to wait on time and circumstances, and led to his own sad fate.

He returned up the Mississippi, and fortified a new post at Starved Rock on the Illinois, which he named St. Louis. Leaving Tonty in command, he hastened to France, where he was honored by an audience with the haughty Louis XIV. He

was thoroughly successful, and a magnificent expedition was fitted out to go by sea to the mouth of the Mississippi, and there establish the long desired fortress. But the fates again began spinning their fatal web in which La Salle was soon enmeshed. Beaugen was selected as the naval commander, and a period of bickering and strife followed. La Salle rightly felt that his will should be obeyed, and he showed little address in dealing with another who was likewise used to command. The disagreement of the commanders was less fatal, however, than the mistakes of the pilots who missed the mouth of the Mississippi, and passed along the coast of Texas, probably to the Matagorda bay. Here, after the loss of some of the vessels, La Salle and a party landed and built Fort St. Louis of Texas, in 1685, while the fleet searched for the mouth of the river, and finally sailed home to France.

The expedition had left France in 1684 with about four hundred people on board, including several families and a number of girls who were to help found homes in the new land. By the end of 1686 the situation was desperate, and a trip to France was found necessary. La Salle determined to return by way of Quebec, passing up the Mississippi, and getting supplies from Tonty at St. Louis of the Illinois. Early in 1687 he set out with sixteen whites and two Indians, leaving twenty people, including seven girls, behind. They must find the Mississippi, but knew not where, and started out through the wilderness to the east. Their hunger was soon desperate, and by the time they reached the Trinity river, a mutinous spirit arose in the company. Three of La Salle's faithful friends were murdered by the mutineers. La Salle had a presentiment that they were planning to take his life, but the vigilance thus aroused was unavailing. Two mutinous wretches skulked in ambush, while a third decoyed La Salle into a fatal spot where he was shot dead.

Thus ended the career of the boldest genius France lent to the New World. After great suffering, six of the remaining party reached Canada, while those left behind at St. Louis of

Texas were attacked by Indians and nearly all killed. Of the whole of La Salle's party only fourteen ever reached a French settlement.

At his death La Salle was only forty-four years of age. He had been in Canada but twenty-one years; yet his personality had been stamped more indelibly upon the fabric of New France than any other character in her history. Reared in a home of refinement and luxury, educated in the best schools of Rouen, he became in America a frontiersman whose lofty purpose gave him an endurance surpassing the native *coureurs-de-bois* and even his Indian guides. He was unselfish and far-seeing, but too autocratic and self-contained to inspire loyalty in mediocre minds. His life seemed inextricably interwoven with fate. Pursued by the ridicule and slander of enemies, harassed by creditors, deserted and betrayed by subordinates, twice poisoned and more than once marked for destruction by mutineers, he pursued his ends with a singleness of purpose, and a depth of determination never surpassed. He endured his misfortunes in silence, and pinned his faith to his own indomitable will. His plans failed during his lifetime, because it was cut short by the hand of the assassin, and because of their very vastness; but New France continued to develop along the lines marked out by his genius, and the French empire in America which crumbled in the middle of the next century before the onslaught of the United Colonies, backed by the English lion and the cross of St. George, was simply the fruition of his ideal.

CHAPTER II.

NEW ORLEANS AND FRENCH LOUISIANA.

THE work of La Salle was not destined to perish but to bear fruit in the new century about to begin. He had sown the seed with infinite toil and his very life's blood; but while his bones lay bleaching on the plains of Texas, one of his most persistent enemies was to reap where he had sown. The faithful Tonty, who had been left at St. Louis of the Illinois, applied in 1694 for a commission to fulfill the task left incomplete by the death of his chief, but the commission was refused. In 1698, Le Moyne d'Iberville was more successful, and obtained permission to plant a colony in the gateway to Louisiana. Iberville was a native Canadian, who had joined the French navy, and by sheer ability forced his way to the rank of post-captain. He had learned on the frontier the value of well-directed guns, and carrying this idea into the navy, he preceded the "stars and stripes" in showing how large a part marksmanship could play in deciding naval battles. Against great odds, he drove an English fleet out of Hudson Bay and established a control in that region that lasted for years. With a splendid reputation for valor he now took up the mantle of La Salle and wore it with honor. In breadth and brilliancy of conception he was La Salle's inferior; but not in energy, fire, and resourcefulness.

Iberville sailed from Brest with two warships and a number of transports in October, 1698. His destination was the mouth of the Mississippi, which he entered in March, 1699. He arrived not any too soon; for England and Spain had both decided to occupy the mouth of the river. While coasting along from Florida to the Mississippi, he had come upon two Spanish ships in the harbor of Pensacola, who were bent upon securing

the whole region for the King of Spain. Likewise, before the close of the year, Bienville, a younger brother of Iberville, while on an exploring expedition up the Mississippi, met an English ship under command of Captain Louis Bank, who had been sent out to found a settlement on the Mississippi. They were not quite sure that this was the Mississippi, however, and Bienville readily convinced the too credulous Englishmen that it was another stream on which Louis XIV. had several flourishing settlements. The ship departed, but not before the French engineer under Captain Bank had given Bienville a petition to be carried to King Louis, signed by four hundred Carolina Huguenots, asking that they be allowed to settle as Frenchmen in Louisiana with liberty of conscience. This petition was spurned and thus was saved to the Carolinas some of their best immigrants and lost to France through bigotry the services of her noblest sons in America.

Iberville built a fort at Biloxi, on the coast of Mississippi, where he left Sieur de Sauville and Bienville in command and returned to France. Through fear of English interference, he was almost immediately sent back with reinforcements. His instructions were to establish pearl-fisheries, bison farms, and to look for mines, which was "*la grande affaire.*" Bienville had been exploring the region round about, and on one excursion had discovered an Indian chief wearing a blue-hooded cloak. He likewise had a letter which had been written on a piece of bark by Tonty thirteen years before, when he had descended the Mississippi from Fort St. Louis to meet La Salle. While the latter was famishing in the barren wilds of Texas, his lieutenant with supplies was wearily waiting for him on the banks of the Mississippi.

When Iberville returned to Louisiana, he went up stream as far as Natchez, but later descended, and in January, 1700, built a wooden redoubt on one of the mouths of the Mississippi. He called it Fort La Boulaye, and its purpose was to serve as a

barricade against the English. This fear of the English was well founded. A quarter of a century before Joliet had found English goods on the banks of the Mississippi, and it was known that they were now in constant communication with the Chickasaws. Iberville next ordered the feeble establishment at Biloxi to be removed (1701) to Mobile Bay. This drew a protest from the Spanish, which availed nothing, and a third settlement was soon made at Dauphin Island. The strategic point at the mouth of the Mississippi was neglected in order to erect a barrier on the Spanish frontier; but its importance was not forgotten.

Louisiana thus established, drifted on in turbulence and peril. Recruits were occasionally sent out by the French government. These recruits consisted of marriageable girls, questionable in quality, religious overseers, male and female, soldiers, workmen, and vagabond adventurers. They were, as a whole, rather a worthless lot, who had not the initiative to hunt for mines, nor the stability to settle down as planters, nor even the ability to govern themselves and live in peace and harmony. They depended on the paternalism of the French government for everything. Idleness and vice were common, and quarrels perpetual. Animals sent out for propagation were slaughtered and eaten by the improvident colonists, while famine and pestilence made annual visitations. By 1711, the population had reached the grand total of 380 souls, 170 of whom were in the King's pay, living in the four settlements of Mobile, Biloxi, Dauphin Island, and Ship Island.

Moreover Louis had tired of a dependency which had been a constant drain upon his resources for thirteen years, without yielding any revenue in return and decided to try the disastrous expedient of turning it over to a merchant adventurer. A wealthy business man, named Anthony Crozat, offered to send out two ship-loads of colonists a year, and continue the settlement in return for a monopoly of trade for fifteen years in the whole region drained by the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, and their tributaries, as far north as the Illinois. The officers were

still to be selected and paid by the King, and a garrison of soldiers was to be maintained for nine years. La Mothe-Cadillac, the turbulent governor of Detroit, was transferred to Louisiana to take the place of the capable Bienville, and things steadily drifted from bad to worse. By 1717 Crozat had sickened of his bargain and gladly surrendered his contract to the King.

While the grinding monopoly of Crozat was in general harmful, it was not without some good results. The population had grown more discontented because they were forbidden to leave Louisiana—thus adding prison bars to misery—and to carry on individual trade; “freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, of trade, and of action, were alike denied” says Parkman; but their numbers had increased, and some explorations had been made. In 1714, Juchereau de Saint-Denis had been sent out to explore western Louisiana. He had ascended far up the Red river, established a post at Natchitoches, and crossed to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. An effort was made to open trade with the Spaniards, but it was unsuccessful. Trading stations had been established on the present sites of Natchez and Nashville. *Coueurs-de-bois* had been sent out to search for mines, but their failure and faithlessness doubtless inspired Governor Cadillac to send to France the despairing note that “this colony is a monster without head or tail, and its government is a shapeless absurdity.”

The failure of Crozat was not enough for the French government, and the whole region was next turned over to that notorious financial charlatan, John Law. He organized the Mississippi Company, the shareholders in which were to fatten on the gold mines of Louisiana. Huge ingots of gold from this distant Eldorado were displayed in shop windows by the side of diamonds which were crystallized in a single night by the magic of the Louisiana atmosphere, from the liquid in the petals of certain flowers. Speculation became hysterical and men fought for places in the line to the bank where shares were sold. The company's ships were flooded with volunteers to emigrate.

But disillusion was speedily to follow. The emigrants

learned the miserable truth, and in their fury sent exaggerated reports of hardships and suffering back to France. The dazzling bubble soon burst, scattering ruin in its wake, while John Law was forced by the infuriated bankrupts to flee for his life.

The rule of the Mississippi Company in Louisiana was short but energetic. Bienville was again made governor and allowed to carry out a scheme long contemplated. The redoubt at the mouth of the Mississippi had been abandoned, and a port was desired higher up the stream. Bienville consequently searched out the best location and in February, 1718, laid the foundation of New Orleans, ever to remain the idolized Mecca of the Creoles. It soon became the center of the Louisiana settlement, and formed a basis for the exploration and trade of the West.

New France now had two capitals: the one on the banks of the St. Lawrence controlling the frigid regions to the north; the other commanding the lazy bayous at the mouth of the Mississippi. From Canada and Louisiana proceeded simultaneously the enterprises that were to explore in detail and settle the basin of the Mississippi. From Canada went out Le Sueur who visited the Sioux about the headwaters of the Mississippi as early as 1688. Ten years later he built a fort on the banks of Lake Pepin, after which he went to France and secured a monopoly of the fur trade for ten years. An expedition was fitted out in France, but La Sueur was captured by the English on the way to Canada. He next decided to make Louisiana his base of operations, and in April, 1700, started up the Mississippi with twenty-five men for the Sioux region in Minnesota. In the autumn they ascended Blue Earth river and built a strong fort which they named Fort l'Huillier. Here they spent the winter, and in the spring descended the Mississippi and sailed to France with a cargo of beaver skins and four thousand pounds of worthless blue earth, which they imagined would prove a valuable commodity. The indefatigable La Sueur afterwards fitted out another expedition, but died on the road to America.

In 1719 Benard de la Harpe set out from Louisiana, as-

cended the Red river, left a few men at Natchitoches, passed along the northern border of Texas, thence overland north and west to the Arkansas, and finally rested among the Nassonite Indians. They told him that by ascending their river he could reach the Spanish settlements, which indicates that he was in the neighborhood of a tributary of the Rio Grande. Two years after his return he started out to explore the Arkansas, but soon gave up the attempt.

While La Harpe was ascending the Red river in 1719, Du Tisne went up the Missouri river beyond the center of the present State of Missouri. Later he started overland from the Mississippi near the southern boundary of the state and penetrated the forest beyond the Osage towards the western border of the State.

In 1722 Bourgmont went up the Missouri and built Fort Orleans near the mouth of the Grand. He then proceeded westward, passed along the Kansas river, thence west and south to the Arkansas, where he managed to assemble the chiefs of all the Indian tribes of the region, and exact a treaty of peace whereby the French were to be allowed a free passage through the country to trade with the Spaniards in Mexico. Some fifteen years later, the Mallet brothers explored the Platte river, went up its south fork, thence across the plains of Colorado and south to Santa Fé, where they arrived in 1739.

Meanwhile, the Canadians were plunging into the wilderness far to the northwest. Pierre la Vérendrye, with Montreal as headquarters, between 1731 and 1740, erected a chain of forts from Lake Superior to the Dakotas—Fort Pierre, on Rainy Lake; Fort St. Charles, on the Lake of the Woods; Fort Maurepas, at the mouth of the Winnipeg river; Fort Bourbon, on Lake Winnipeg; Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboin; and Fort Dauphin, on Lake Manitoba. La Vérendrye had two sons, Pierre and Chevalier de la Vérendrye, no less daring than himself. Using Fort La Reine as headquarters, they set out in 1742 in search of the Pacific ocean. They struck out boldly to the west, crossed the Missouri into Dakota, passed just north of the Black Hills,

crossed the "Bad Lands," threaded the defiles of the Powder River mountains, and at last descried in the distance the rugged, snow-capped peaks of the Rockies. This Parkman pronounces the discovery of the Rocky mountains proper, although their southern extension had long been known to the Spaniards. This gigantic wilderness trip had been made with only two followers, without any government aid, and antedated by sixty-two years the expedition of Lewis and Clark.

Practically the whole of Louisiana had now been traversed by the hardy and intrepid French explorers. In the meanwhile New Orleans had passed through numerous vicissitudes. The Mississippi Company had sent out various ship-loads of reinforcements. One was a cargo of twenty marriageable girls who were all happily mated within thirty days. In June, 1719 a company of 800 arrived at New Orleans. In October, 200 Germans, valuable as colonists because they were willing to work, settled what was later known as the German coast on the banks of the river twenty miles above New Orleans. Before the close of the year, 500 negro slaves were brought out to swell the force of laborers. New Orleans was drained and palisaded; a levee confined the Mississippi to its banks; warehouses were built. A Jesuit station was founded which experimented with various fruits and farm products. A company of Ursuline nuns founded a school for girls, 1727, and established a hospital for the care of the sick.

Other enterprises were begun and new settlements planned. The monopoly of Crozat had left the Illinois region where La Salle had planted Fort St. Louis, in the possession of Canada; but that of the Mississippi Company had been made to include the whole Mississippi basin to the Lakes. Jesuit missionaries had never ceased to labor among the Indians on the Illinois, and in 1700, Father Marest led some of the Kaskaskias to the Mississippi at the mouth of the Kaskaskia river, and there founded a settlement. Within a few weeks of the same date, Father Pirret founded Cahokia, across the river opposite the present site of

St. Louis. Kaskaskia and Cahokia were the oldest permanent settlements in Illinois, Cahokia probably being the senior by a few weeks. Here came roving Canadians, *coureurs-de-bois*, and occasional stragglers from the Gulf. The earliest settlers married Indian squaws and built rude little huts of logs or bark to house their numerous progeny. Later, white women from Canada or Louisiana reached these settlements and gradually French began to replace the Indian homes.

In 1720 Pierre Boisbriant was sent up from New Orleans with 100 men and founded Ft. Charters, sixteen miles above Kaskaskia. It was built of wood, but afterwards replaced by stone and made the capital of upper Louisiana. Here resided the commandant and the three councillors who ruled the settlement and maintained the military connexion between Canada and Louisiana.

A Jesuit monastery was established at Kaskaskia in 1721. During the same year Philip Renault brought 200 miners and 500 slaves and opened lead mines at Galena, Illinois. Prospecting parties were sent across into Missouri, where the Mine La-motte and the Potosi mines were opened up. Fur traders penetrated the forests and prairies far and near, and hunters found a paradise of delight in the deer, wild turkeys, bear and other game in abundance. Nor was the more stable occupation of agriculture wanting; for, in 1745, Upper Louisiana sent to New Orleans 400,000 pounds of grain. About 1735 a settlement was made on the Missouri side of the river at St. Genevieve which formed the oldest permanent settlement in the present State of Missouri. The population of the whole region by 1745 had reached nine hundred. But after all is said, the growth of upper Louisiana was slow. The population was worthless and dissolute, and when the Treaty of Paris turned it over to the Spanish it showed little prospect of future greatness.

The new era of enterprise begun with the advent of John Law's Mississippi Company, continued under its guidance until November, 1731, when Louisiana again reverted to the King.

New Orleans was progressing slowly, and gradually drawing to itself the radiating lines of industry throughout the whole province. Indigo, rice, tobacco, and lumber were exported in small quantities. By 1745, the population of the whole territory had grown to 4,000 French and 2,000 negroes. But nothing could preserve from dire threats of starvation a population composed of vagabonds kidnapped in the streets of Paris, convicts swept from the jails of France, profligate adventurers, male and female, a heterogeneous polyglot of confirmed idlers, tale-bearers and general delinquents, preserved from utter inaninity by an occasional officer of real merit or an unfortunate of noble spirit—all cast together by force of circumstances into the midst of a wilderness demanding toil and fortitude and reeking with hardship and peril. In 1730 the whole New Orleans settlement had to live on the seeds of wild grass and reeds for three months. Food from the Illinois region or from the home government stood, more than once, between the garrison and famine. Moreover, pestilence crept into the filthy huts while fevers hovered about the dank atmosphere, and hastened the peopling of the new-born cemeteries.

But amidst the general gloom and perpetually impending disasters, there were compensating features. The vision of empire that fired the heart of La Salle still warmed the pride of the Frenchmen. Great schemes to cut off the Englishmen, who were slipping through the gaps of the Appalachian mountains and reaching out with grasping fingers to seize the latent wealth of the west, were being matured. The French leaders were dotting the extremities of the Ohio and St. Lawrence regions with forts and garrisons. Parties were sent out to the English borders to plant the *fleurs-de-lis* and to sink leaden tablets bearing the arms of France as a warning to all intruders. At the junction where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio, one of these parties came upon a sober and dignified youth, bearing an important commission from Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia. Business of great moment was transacted. A

year later, that same youth led a military force to the same neighborhood and fired the first shot in a war that was to determine the nationality of the whole valley of the Mississippi and her tributaries. Yet two times more that young man returned, and not a Frenchman was left to rule the disputed territory. A quarter of a century later this self-same leader was to be the hero of a second war and drive the last red coat from the soil of the United States.

But before taking up the results of the momentous struggle that was to decide the fate of Louisiana, it may be well to consider further the government of the territory under French rule. In general features, the control of Louisiana was like that of Canada. New France was simply a reproduction of Old France. Louis XIV. was its benevolent despot, the paternal source of every species of activity. From his palace in Versailles the Grand Monarch issued edicts to control the minutest affairs of life. Parkman declares that "the new settler was found by the King, sent over by the King, and supplied by the King with a wife, a farm, and sometimes with a house." Even when Louisiana had grown burdensome and was shifted to the shoulders of the monopolist Crozat, and later tossed into the lap of the Mississippi Company, the paternalism of Versailles continued. The people of Louisiana were naturally indolent and shiftless, and this excessive coddling tended to reduce them to helpless automatons. What an instructive contrast the race of people this system developed presents to that produced by the *laissez faire* policy of the English government. The sturdy Puritan from the southeast of England, the covenanting Scotchman from the north of Ireland, the Huguenot refugee from the fetters of the supreme bigot of France, the sober Dutchman from freedom-loving Holland, left to shift for themselves in a wilderness inhospitable and full of danger, were molded into sympathy in the crucible of distress and developed a self-sufficiency and an independent spirit which, when aroused, were irresistible. Self-government became second nature, and before their steady ad-

vance, the wilderness faded away. The hunting grounds of the savage gave place to civilized homes, and when at last they were brought face to face with the French, the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest decided the result.

At New Orleans the usual French governor appointed by the King stood at the head of affairs. He had autocratic power over the general enterprises of the colony—a little Louis XIV. in his domain. But as others were subject to his orders, so was he likewise subject to the minutest whim of the court of France. Standing next to the governor, and taking the place of the intendant of Canada, was the *comissaire-ordinnateur*, a sort of commissary general, who had control of the stores and regulated details of administration to which the governor could not well give attention. He was also to keep a watch on the actions of the governor, and report any irregularities to the King. There was consequently at no infrequent intervals bad feeling or regular feuds between the two leading officers. In the early period, military law alone prevailed and was administered by a military tribunal, composed of these two officials. The advice of the priests was doubtless of some value, but not regularly sought. After 1715 the tribunal was enlarged and its powers more specifically defined. With the advent of the Mississippi Company, a royal edict was promulgated (1719) which erected a Superior Council for the free administration of justice and the general affairs of the colony. It was to be composed of such directors of the company as might chance to be in the colony, the governor, two lieutenant-governors, the King's attorney-general, the King's commissary, and four other persons. This council was to share the former power of the governor, who was no longer absolute.

In 1720 a proclamation was issued informing the inhabitants that they could get supplies from the company's stores at fixed rates, and that they must send all of their products to these stores, where they would be paid for at the scheduled prices. The straight-jacket trade policy which was preparing the peasantry of France for the Revolution and the Reign of Terror was now to

be strictly enforced in Louisiana. To this commercial servitude was added the restriction that the inhabitants were not to leave the colony without the consent of the company. The vine, hemp, flax, all products that could come into competition with those of the mother country were proscribed. In 1724 a severe Black Code was enacted, Jews were forever expelled from the colony, and every mode of worship except the Roman Catholic was prohibited.

One thing to be noticed about Louisiana in contrast with Canada was the small influence of the priests. Soon after the founding of the colony the Curate de la Vente, who was the spiritual head of the settlement, had essayed to play a leading part in temporal affairs, whereupon Bienville had sent him about his business. He then became a malcontent, and had much to do with Bienville's dismissal as governor, but the priests were never able to gain as much control of the government as they did in Canada. Louisiana was divided for ecclesiastical administration into three districts. The Carmelites had control of the settlements to the east of the mouth of the Mississippi; the Capuchin territory reached from New Orleans to the Illinois, and the Jesuits were allotted the Wabash and Illinois district. The morals of the people were naturally low and the difficulties besetting the work of the priests were multitudinous. In addition to their task of administering to the spiritual wants of the dissolute colonists was the urgent call for the conversion of the Indians. In Canada their labors of love had often preserved the French from Indian hostility; in the feeble condition of Louisiana such a mission was even more indispensable.

The general affairs of the colony, it must be admitted, were poorly managed. Bienville left Louisiana in 1743, never to return. He had spent nearly half a century in honest service for the upbuilding of the territory; but the most that can be said for him is that he was faithful and patriotic. He was sensible and public spirited, but had none of the brilliance, the tact, or the compelling energy that characterized Champlain and La Salle in

Canada, or Dupleix and Labourdonnais in India. Yet it must not be forgotten that the materials with which he had to build were inferior, that the obstacles in his pathway were many and stupendous, and that to him Louisiana owed more than to any other individual. He is rightly styled the father of Louisiana.

After the departure of Bienville, few things of importance occurred before the transfer of Louisiana to Spain. The Marquis of Vaudreuil was sent over as governor, and served until his services were required in Canada. He was then succeeded (1753) by Kerleric, who held the office during the remainder of the French ownership. The population of the territory steadily grew, but the state of affairs was ever critical. Official corruption was common; political cliques and factions kept up a perpetual tumult; and rival religious organizations intrigued for each other's ruin. The finances were necessarily unstable, and the paper-money curse periodically appeared. The annual budget continually increased. For the first twenty years of the colony's history, the annual expense to the King of France was about 150,000 livres. The budget now ran from half a million to a million livres a year, a large part of which must come from the hard-pressed treasury of the mother country. No wonder that the French ministers were ready to part with a colony which had been a constant burden for half a century and showed as yet no signs of ever becoming self-sustaining!

But with Louisiana was destined to go the whole of New France. The visions of Champlain and La Salle were never to materialize. The glittering fabric of empire, which had cost so much blood and treasure, which had inspired so many heroic deeds and sustained so many despairing souls, was woven too thinly to stand the stress of conflict. The attenuated settlement, stretching from Acadia to New Orleans, was no match for the compact mass of English-American citizens, clustered on the Atlantic coast, whose industry had made them opulent, whose government had made them self-sufficient, and whose number had grown to ten times that of their rivals. The French and Indian War was a

struggle of England against France, of the self-governing colonies against the paternal absolutism of New France; the result is not far to seek, nor does its events need to be recounted. Louisiana played little part in the struggle, but was present at the division of spoils. In 1761 the French ambassador presented a memorial to the Spanish government, in which he confessed that France was unable to protect Louisiana, and solicited the aid of Spain. On November 3, 1762, a treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, by which the French King, "from the pure impulse of his generous heart" ceded to his "cousin of Spain" all the country "known under the name of Louisiana." But France retained possession, and in February of the next year, a new distribution of territory was made by the Peace of Paris. According to this treaty, the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, together with the island of New Orleans, was left to Spain, in return for aid given to France during the war; Spain ceded Florida to England, getting Havana in return; Canada and the remaining territory east of the Mississippi, went to England. Thus crumbled into ruins, by virtue of its own infirmities and before the growing enterprise of the English colonies, aided by the genius of Pitt and Wolfe, the magnificent conception of a great French empire, within whose huge dimensions the paltry acres of Old France could be hidden with as much ease as the political shrewdness of le Grand Monarque amidst the statesmen of our Constitutional Convention of 1787.

CHAPTER III.

ST. LOUIS AND SPANISH LOUISIANA.

THE news of the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1763 was received with consternation by the loyal inhabitants of that province. Fleeting rumors of the first transfer had reached them, but they had been cast aside with incredulity. Were they to be bartered away as merchandise? Were their national character and rights so far forgotten that they were to be transformed into Englishmen or Spaniards without their consent? What was to become of their property, their laws, their society? Was the prospect of a glorious empire to be renounced by the dastardly impolicy of surrender on the very threshold of success? It was only with the publication of the King's Proclamation that the bitter truth went home; and then, for a brief moment, the spirit that glorified the Fourth of July, 1776, stirred their wrathful souls.

Governor Kerleric was recalled in 1763, and M. D'Abbadie sent out to succeed him under the title of director-general. Kerleric was accused of extravagance and peculation, probably not without justice, and cast into the Bastille. It was to D'Abbadie that Louis XV. addressed his communication which was published in October, 1764. D'Abbadie was instructed to deliver up the country to the Spanish governor, and the colonists were assured that under his Catholic Majesty the "protection and good will" which they had heretofore enjoyed would be extended, their religion and property would not be disturbed, nor would the ordinary course of justice be interrupted. Even the Superior Council was to be continued. Indeed, so gradual was the change, so little energy did the Spanish government show in assuming control, that the people began to imagine the transfer was only a

ruse to circumvent in some way the English, and when, more than a year later, the Spanish governor arrived, his dilatory tactics confirmed the suspicion.

Meantime, the colonists had not remained silent. The Superior Council had invited each parish to send some of its most distinguished citizens as delegates to an assembly which met at New Orleans. Resolutions were passed, humbly supplicating the King of France not to cast them away from his benign control, and Jean Milhet, the wealthiest merchant of the colony, was sent to carry it to the throne. When he arrived in Paris he called upon the aged Bienville, who went along to help plead the cause with the King's minister, Choiseul. But Choiseul informed them that Louisiana could not maintain its precarious existence without an enormous expense which France was utterly incapable of meeting. "Is it not better," said he, "that Louisiana should be given away to a friend and faithful ally, than be wrested from us by an hereditary foe?"

The failure of this mission shrouded the colony in gloom. The dismal outlook grew drearier still when in March, 1766, Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived as governor to take possession in the name of the King of Spain. Ulloa was a man of the highest distinction in science and letters. He held high rank in the Spanish navy, and had been equally successful as a civil administrator. His courage was undoubted and his humanity far exceeded that of the usual Spanish official. The instructions given to him by Charles III. were also quite liberal. He was accompanied by other civil officers, but since the necessary military force had not yet arrived, it was decided to postpone taking formal possession until the arrival of more troops.

Such liberalism was new to the inhabitants of Louisiana, and they proceeded at once to misinterpret it. Those who had received Ulloa with cold and sullen respect began to foment sedition. The Superior Council asked him to show his commission, whereupon he informed them that he was not yet ready to take charge, and that if he were, he could only deal with Aubry, who

had succeeded D'Abbadie as governor. This rude blow at the authority of the Superior Council made matters worse. A secret association was formed throughout the region and a conspiracy was hatched to drive out the Spaniards, with Ulloa at their head. A petition to the Superior Council urging this action was prepared by two members of the Council and sent around for signatures. It was presented at a meeting of the Council in October, 1768. At the same time, a large body of the insurgents marched into New Orleans under arms. Ulloa, glad to escape to his books from such a turbulent position, prudently took to a ship and sailed away.

The chief objects of the Revolution were now accomplished, and the people, trained to despotic government, shrank back in terror at the boldness of their own actions. What would France think? What would Spain do? The leaders soon found themselves isolated, while the few Spaniards that were left were being courted. How different the followers of Samuel Adams and John Hancock when the decree of George III. had declared those sterling patriots beyond the reach of pardon! One of the leading conspirators, Foucault, turned traitor to his confederates. The others knew not what to do. They appealed to the English at Pensacola, but their emissaries were coldly received. Wild schemes of proclaiming a republic with Lafrénère as protector filled the air.

But the suspense was soon relieved by the news that General Alexander O'Reilly had been appointed to succeed Ulloa as governor and was coming with a large military force. He arrived in July, 1769, with 2,600 choice Spanish troops, bearing orders to punish the leaders of the insurrection, and to establish Spanish control and administration. O'Reilly was an Irishman whose ability and courage had overcome the prejudice and pride of the Spanish dons and had raised him to the front rank in the army of Charles III. His military services were long and distinguished, and he was equally able as an administrator.

The leaders against the Spanish in Louisiana saw the use-

lessness of resisting such a force, and O'Reilly received a hearty welcome. His attitude was conciliatory and flattering. A proclamation was issued, granting pardon to all save a few of the leading conspirators. The inhabitants were all required to take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish King, while several members of the Superior Council and a number of others, twelve in all, were shot or sent to Havana, where they were safely ensconced in Moro Castle.

On the morning of the eighteenth of August, 1769, amidst booming cannon and shouts of "Viva el Rey!" "Viva el Rey!" the flag of France was lowered from the gate of New Orleans, while that of Spain was raised to take its place. Then O'Reilly, accompanied by his retinue of officers and the former French governor, Aubry, led the procession around the square and to the cathedral, where addresses were made, and a solemn Te Deum was sung, during which the fleet and army renewed their salutes. These pious services over, they returned to the public square, where the ceremonies were completed. Thus ended the supremacy of the French in the land where, ninety-seven years before, La Salle, with superb genius, had planted the *fleurs-de-lis*, as the basis of a new empire to be carved out of the vast, unknown continent.

The colonial government set up by Spain was not materially different from that established by France. The governor was to be assisted by Loyola, commissary of war and intendant; Gayarré, contador or royal comptroller; Navarro, treasurer; and a number of minor officials. The Superior Council was to be replaced by a Cabildo, composed of six perpetual regidores, two ordinary alcades, an attorney-general-syndic, and a clerk. The Cabildo was to sit weekly and to be presided over by the governor. The offices of regidor and clerk were to be purchased at auction, and were transferable. The ordinary alcades were elected annually, and performed functions similar to those of an English justice of the peace. After the organization of the cabildo, O'Reilly

gave up the governorship, and remained in general charge as captain-general. The French code of laws was succeeded by a set of regulations based upon the laws of Castile and the code of the Indies; but since both French and Spanish law were based upon the Roman law, the changes were not burdensome.

While these things were occurring about New Orleans, interesting and important events were taking place in Upper Louisiana. Early in 1764, Major Loftus arrived at New Orleans and started up the river to take possession of the Illinois country, in the name of the King of Great Britain. He was fired upon by the Indians, and returned, loudly and unjustly condemning the French as instigators of the attack. Meanwhile, the French commandant, St. Ange de Bellerive, continued to exercise control. Early in 1760, however, Captain Sterling reached Kaskaskia, and took possession in the name of the English monarch. A proclamation was issued, allowing the Catholics freedom of worship, promising to those who would remain and take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to their new sovereign the rights and immunities of British subjects, and assuring perfect freedom to those who desired to leave the English possessions. This latter privilege was accepted by many who preferred Spanish to English domination. Some departed from the colony in disgust, while many others crossed the Mississippi into Missouri. Among these was the French commandant St. Ange de Bellerive, who went over to St. Louis and became the first governor of Upper Louisiana under Spain.

St. Louis was at this time a growing village of small dimensions. Its founding was of no slight consequence in the history of Louisiana. At the time of the cession of Illinois to the English, all of the leading settlements of Upper Louisiana, except Ste. Genevieve, were on the east bank of the river. The French desired a strong post on the Missouri side, through which the trade of the northwest could be diverted from the hated English. There was no money for such an enterprise, and the old expedient of granting a monopoly was resorted to. Early in 1763, Monsieur

D'Abbadie granted to Maxent, Laclede & Company a monopoly of the fur trade with the Indians of Missouri and the region west of the Mississippi, as far north as the St. Peter. This firm became generally known as "The Louisiana Fur Company," and they had an expedition ready to start by the third of August.

The leader of the enterprise was Pierre Laclede Ligest, (he generally signed himself simply Pierre Laclede), who was at this time thirty-nine years old. He was a tall, dark, black-eyed Frenchman, spirited, enterprising, ambitious. Reared in the shadow of the Pyrenees, he was familiar with both French and Spanish character and customs, which fitted him for the great work he was to perform. Peering from the narrow confines of his own home to the hazy continent beyond the sea, his restless imagination began to picture a settlement in far away Louisiana where wealth would flow freely into his purse and the name of Pierre Laclede would be supreme. With a number of friends he set out for an adventurous career in the new world. He arrived in New Orleans in 1755 and was soon head of a commercial establishment. In 1763 he became junior partner in "The Louisiana Fur Company." This gave him his coveted opportunity for he was put in charge of the expedition to found a post near the mouth of the Missouri to control the fur trade of the northwest.

After three months of toil against the impetuous current of the Mississippi in unshapely and heavily laden boats, the members of Laclede's party reached St. Genevieve. But finding there no suitable place to store their goods, they crossed to Fort Chartres which was made headquarters for the winter. From there Laclede, with a small party, explored the west bank of the river up to the mouth of the Missouri. After careful examination he selected a site for the new trade center, and later generations have proved the wisdom of his choice. It was none other than the high and delightful spot upon which the present metropolis of St. Louis stands, a situation combining the excellences of "healthful residence and of matchless facilities for commercial exchange." He returned to Fort Chartres and enthusiastically

predicted that "he intended to establish a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America."

On this expedition he was accompanied by the youthful Auguste Chouteau, whose name was to be indissolubly connected with the founding of St. Louis, and whose brother, Pierre Chouteau, was to become the patriarch in the development of the fur trade of the west. These brothers were sons of Madame Chouteau, who accompanied Laclede on his voyage up the Mississippi, and with whom she lived in civil law marriage after separation from her Catholic husband, Monsieur Chouteau. In the spring of 1764, Auguste Chouteau, then only thirteen years of age, was sent in charge of about thirty workmen to begin felling the primeval forest for the new settlement. Laclede soon followed, and the first buildings were erected on the block bounded by First, Second, Walnut and Market streets. Here was erected the company's store, and in the immediate neighborhood, the cabins of the men, the home of Laclede, and in 1770, the first church in St. Louis. The embryo village was named St. Louis in honor of Louis IX., the patron saint of the reigning monarch, Louis XV., of France. Such was the beginning of the future capital of Upper Louisiana, the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, to be the scene one hundred and forty years later of the grandest memorial celebration the world has yet seen.

The development of St. Louis was a brilliant contrast to the tedious and painful growth of the other villages of the Louisiana Territory. Circumstances favored the child of Laclede, fortune smiled upon her, and almost immediately she sprang into prominence. Within a few months St. Ange came over with the French garrison from Ft. Chartres, and was followed by many of the French families from Kaskaskia and Cahokia, who turned with disgust from the clumsy, self-governing English intruders. Within five years the hill-tops overlooking the stately Mississippi were dotted with the cabins of some seven hundred inhabitants. A family of young villages soon sprang up about the mother settlement, such as Carondelet, St. Charles, Bonhomme, Florissant,

and Portage des Sioux. The Indian trade was pouring wealth into the pockets of the natives, and a degree of prosperity unknown in French America prevailed.

The life of the early French settlers in Louisiana was highly picturesque, a life chequered with extremes of light and shadow, joy and sorrow, religious fervor mingled with utter frivolity, ease never free from the shadow of hardship, and calamity following close upon the heels of prosperity. Contrasted with the sombre intelligence of New England Puritanism or the lonely brilliance of the Virginia planter, the social structure was loose and hollow, but withal bright and attractive. The facile, adaptable Frenchman, with free and easy manners, a vivacious spirit, and a fondness for display, mixed readily with the Indians and won their lasting friendship. They took naturally to the wild life and enjoyed the license, the freedom, the exhilaration of the pure air of the prairies and the forests. The young man became a *voyageur* on the rivers, then, perchance, drifted into the woods as a hunter and trapper. Ignoring the monopolistic spirit of the French authorities, he began clandestine trading as a *coureur-des-bois*. He purchased his Indian squaw with gifts, and lived on the outskirts of the Indian camp. His visits to the settlements were spent in carousals and debauchery. Civilization was left behind, and the instruction of the priests forgotten. The canoe, the gun, the dog, the trap, were his companions, the rude wilderness but his home. But by and by the suppleness of youth gives way to the infirmities brought on by hardship, while the conservatism of age tempers the wild heedlessness of youth. The *coureur* begins to yearn for the quiet of the settlement where he returns to build a cabin within whose shadows he can smoke and chat away his declining years. Meanwhile a family of half-breeds has grown up, and his sons have taken his place at the oar and in the camp. Such is the adventurous and romantic life of the *coureur*.

But he is only a type, the forerunner of progress in western life. St. Louis had its quota of these, but not the large percent-

age found in the Illinois towns. Stable settlers came down from Canada; the church crept in from the North and South; Creoles and Frenchmen came up from New Orleans; Englishmen drifted in from the East; and emigrants still crossed over from Spain and France. Merchants, traders, artisans, adventurers, priests, soldiers, men of ability, men of ambition, men of culture, were not lacking. St. Louis combined many of the characteristics of Canada, the Illinois country, and New Orleans, without being like either. More democratic and progressive ideas were adopted. Instead of clinging to the old French idea of a commune, with its system of common tillage, the land was parcelled out for individual ownership. Instead of depending on individual hunters, trappers, and boatmen, fur companies, transportation companies, and mining companies were organized. In fact, St. Louis became a real western village, and only the larger infusion of sturdy English blood was needed to make her typical of the rapid taming of the vast expanse of the west, which a century has jeweled with a thousand cities and made to blossom with luxuriance and wealth.

The government of St. Louis was similar to that of other French towns. At first there was no organized civil government. The mechanics and hunters and traders who came with Laclede were bound together by common interests and were subject to his orders. Laclede was never disposed to assume civil responsibility, and about the only governmental function necessary was the allotment of land for use until the inchoate title thus acquired could be confirmed by some higher authority. With the arrival of St. Ange and his soldiers and the other Illinois immigrants, some form of government became necessary. By common consent, St. Ange was chosen *de facto* governor, awaiting the arrival of the Spaniards. He was a man of mature years, being then over sixty, who had seen much service in the French army. He was no less able as an administrator than as a soldier, and his tact, fairness, and practical intelligence soon proved the wisdom of his selection. Associated with St. Ange in the civil administration were Judge Lefebvre, who had control of legal matters, and Joseph

Labuscière, secretary and notary public. With this simple form of self-government, the town started, and later the director-general of Louisiana, Aubry, completed the organization by appointing two judges, an attorney-general, and a notary. Under this government, St. Louis continued until the arrival of the Spaniards in 1770.

This event was heralded by the arrival of O'Reilly at New Orleans. As soon as the commandant had overawed the rebellious Frenchmen about the mouth of the Mississippi, he dispatched Don Pedro Piernas with a body of Spanish troops to St. Louis to take possession of Upper Louisiana. Piernas arrived in the spring of 1770 and quietly assumed control. He was a man of ability and rare tact. Several weeks were spent in the hospitable home of Laclede, cultivating the friendship of the people and familiarizing himself with the situation. On May 20, as lieutenant-governor in charge of Upper Louisiana, he assumed the reins of government without opposition. Thus passed from the control of the French the last foot of soil within the present bounds of the United States.

But with a wisdom too uncommon among Spanish governors, no radical changes were made. The venerable and popular St. Ange was made captain of infantry in the Spanish service. The minor offices were filled with Frenchmen. All the land titles granted under the French regime were confirmed and a French surveyor, Martin Duralde, was appointed to define the bounds of the various estates. Conciliation was the watchword. Governor Piernas himself married a French woman, and the Spanish force of six officers and twenty men was soon lost in the spirit of the village.

St. Louis continued in the even tenor of its way to develop and prosper. Governor Piernas was superseded in May, 1775, by Don Francisco Cruzat, whose nature was not less kindly and whose political discretion was not less conspicuous than that of Piernas. But the political content of the people was rudely upset in 1778 by the harshness and rapacity of Cruzat's successor, Fer-

nando de Leybe. During De Leybe's administration two events of importance occurred. The first of these was the death of Pierre Laclede, the father of the settlement, in 1778. In the fourteen years since Laclede laid out the town of St. Louis, he had not been idle. While his name occupies little space in the political history of the region, his services in building up her trade and commerce were incalculable. He was almost constantly on the road, establishing new trading posts, making alliances with Indian tribes, and opening up new relations with New Orleans and Europe. It was while returning from New Orleans that he was smitten with a fatal illness and carried to a military post at the mouth of the Arkansas, where he died at the age of fifty-four. He was buried in the wilderness on the south bank of the Arkansas, but when, in later years, a grateful people desired to erect a monument to his memory it was found that the insidious current of the river had washed his remains into the Mississippi to join those of its great discoverer.

The other event was an attack of the Indians which might easily have proved tragic. While the heroic struggle was going on between Great Britain and the embattled farmers of the Atlantic slope, the echoes of battle scarcely caused a thrill in the placid calm of the wilderness center. In 1778 Colonel George Rogers Clark had captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia without shedding a drop of blood, but the Spanish city rested secure. Governor Cruzat had matured a plan of defense for St. Louis, but had been removed before putting it into execution. The city was defenseless in the hands of the incompetent de Leybe, when in 1780 the Indians, inspired by the British to the north, descended the Mississippi in search of scalps. They feared to attack Cahokia and a predatory band crossed the river. The plan was to capture the unarmed men in the fields and then attack the city; but so few men happened to be at their labors the day of the attack that they made only a half-hearted attack on the fort and decided to rest content with a half dozen scalps and a few

prisoners, most of whom were released after the peace of 1783.*

Governor De Leybe ended his dissipations with death in 1780, and the popular Cruzat was recalled. Cruzat was succeeded by Don Manuel Perez in 1787. It was during his rule that the system of inducing immigration by the offer of large tracts of land was begun. His successor, Trudeau, extended the policy, and some of the grants reached as high as thirty thousand acres. Dreams of opulence began to attract settlers to the hitherto sluggish village, and frenzy of speculation disturbed its wonted repose. New settlements were springing up along the rivers. With the arrival of Charles Delassus as Governor in 1799 (he had been promoted from the post commandership at New Madrid) a census of Upper Louisiana was taken. It was found that the population of the whole region was 6,028. Of these 888 were slaves and 197 were freedmen. The population of St. Louis was 925. Delassus remained in control of Upper Louisiana until its transfer to the United States in 1803.

While St. Louis and Upper Louisiana were growing apace, New Orleans and Lower Louisiana were making a similar development. Spanish regulation, or rather restriction, of commerce threatened at first to stifle prosperity, but when O'Reilly gave place as governor to Don Luis de Unzago in August, 1772, the evils were somewhat mitigated. Ulloa had, through the French Governor, Aubry, restricted trade to a half-dozen Spanish seaports, and required that all imports and exports should be carried in Spanish vessels. Since these ports could not supply the traffic most needed in the colony, the only resource that enabled the colonists to subsist was a clandestine trade with the English. The treaty of 1763 had reserved to the English the free navigations of the Mississippi, and large numbers of English immigrants had located at Bayou Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez. Their vessels ploughed up and down the river and the thrifty traders

*There is a historical controversy regarding the extent and complicity of the British in this famous Indian attack on St. Louis. Not having been able as yet to ascertain the truth from documentary sources, the most reasonable account has been accepted.

had established floating warehouses fitted up as stores which supplied at the water's edge the goods and slaves needed by the planters, in return for the produce of their farms. This smuggling trade was wisely winked at by Unzago, and the Chinese-like regulations, instead of working to the advantage of Spain, gave a monopoly of the coveted trade to the English.

One of the most serious disturbances of the colony was of a religious nature. This difficulty had sprung up at an early day between the Jesuits and the Capuchins. In 1717 the Capuchins had secured from the East India Company the exclusive ecclesiastical jurisdiction over New Orleans and a large part of Louisiana. But in 1726 the Jesuits obtained permission to settle in the colony and had been assigned the Upper settlements. Once in the colony, they began to intrigue to get control. The first definite attempt was made in 1755, when their superior obtained from the Bishop of Quebec, in whose diocese Louisiana was included, a commission as Grand Vicar of Louisiana. This brought on an open conflict with the Capuchins, which soon assumed large proportions; and, like most religious quarrels, was very acrimonious. The Superior Council finally decided in favor of the Capuchins, but the Jesuits continued to exercise many ecclesiastical functions. In 1764 came the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits and their property, worth \$180,000, was confiscated and sold. But the nine-lived Jesuits refused to die, and when some half dozen years later a similar struggle arose between the French and Spanish Capuchins, they were ready to fan the embers of discord into a flame. Father Dagobert was the venerable and much beloved superior of the Capuchin monastery. He had shown much sweetness of temper, great liberality, and rare power of adapting his ministrations to the spirit of the people, so that when the Spanish assumed control of the province and Louisiana became the ecclesiastical fief of the Bishop of Cuba, he was still left in charge. In 1772 the Bishop sent over Father Cirilo to investigate the affairs of the Church. When the report was made, the lenience of the French Father Dagobert was con-

demned; but the governor stoutly defended him, and a controversy sprang up between the Bishop of Cuba and Governor Unzago. The matter was appealed to Spain, where a compromise was effected, through which peace again entered the reverend fraternity.

The administration of Governor Unzago lasted from 1772 to February, 1777. He was a mild and beneficent ruler, and by a policy of such exceeding liberality that it failed to meet the complete approval of the authorities at Madrid, he had increased the prosperity of the colony and done much to reconcile the Frenchmen to Spanish control. The inhabitants were thriving on the illicit trade he allowed, and it was with universal regret that he announced his intention to leave. His successor was Don Bernardo de Galvez, then colonel of the regiment in Louisiana.

Galvez was only twenty-one years old, but he was a young man of great ability and unbounded energy. His father was viceroy of Mexico, and his uncle the most powerful man in the service of the Spanish King. His administration was no less liberal than that of his predecessor, and lasted to the close of the American Revolution. It was very important in the development of Louisiana, and for the aid rendered to the patriot cause.

The opening months of his rule were signalized by the destruction of the English monopoly of the carrying trade of Louisiana, and its transfer to the French. In 1776 the courts of France and Spain had agreed to open trade between Louisiana and the French West Indies. A short time after the accession of Galvez two French commissioners, Villars and d'Aunoy, arrived at New Orleans to control this traffic. The West India trade proved profitable, and various steps were taken to encourage agriculture, particularly the raising of tobacco. Imports came in from Cuba and other places, specie became more plentiful, negroes were introduced in larger numbers, industry began to thrive. Plans to attract immigration were not forgotten. Large numbers, 499 in one body for example, came over from the Canary Islands at the King's expense. They were provided with lands and

houses and cattle and farming utensils; a church was erected for them in each village they established, and provisions out of the general commissary were supplied until they could become self-sustaining. The policy of making extensive land grants, which proved so successful in Upper Louisiana, was inaugurated by Galvez and extended by his successor, Miro. Munificent grants lured many English settlers to cross over into Louisiana and take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish monarch. In 1788 Colonel George Morgan was given an immense tract of land about seventy miles below the mouth of the Ohio and led a large party to the site of New Madrid, Missouri. Other settlements grew up in like manner and thus, by a general infiltration of English blood, was Louisiana prepared for its future transfer.

The aid to the American cause supplied through Louisiana during the Revolution should not be forgotten. One of the first official acts of the spirited young Galvez was to seize and confiscate eleven richly laden English ships engaged in the smuggling trade about New Orleans. The order of the Spanish court to render secret assistance to the Americans was seized with alacrity. Oliver Pollock and Captain Willing came down the Ohio and Mississippi from Fort Pitt and were aided in the purchase of powder and military stores for the American army. Gayarré, in his *History of Louisiana*, states that this secret aid amounted to seventy thousand dollars. Galvez was instructed to hold in trust any British settlement on the Mississippi, which the Americans might take and turn over to him—a peculiar bit of responsibility the Americans were pretty sure not to ask him to assume. But it was in 1779 when the Spaniards unsheathed the sword and joined hands with the United States and France against England that Galvez took the field, and, with great dash and courage, drove the English out of Florida and the Louisiana forts of Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Bayou Manchac. This capture of the Floridas was of peculiar importance to the United States since it left them at the conclusion of the war in possession of the decrepit monarchy from whose nerveless fingers they were certain at some future date to drop into the open arms of the young republic.

The administration of Galvez ended with the year 1784. He was succeeded by Don Estevan Miro, who remained in control seven years. He possessed none of the brilliance of Galvez, but was a man of good education, sound intelligence, a high sense of honor, and an abundance of energy. At the opening of his administration a census was taken which showed that the total population of Louisiana had increased from 13,538 in 1769 to 31,438 in 1785. By virtue of the arrival of a large number of Acadians and a liberal policy, this number was increased by more than 10,000 in three years. By the time of the transfer in 1803 the number had reached about 50,000. The population of New Orleans grew from 3,000 in 1769, to 5,000 in 1785, and to more than 8,000 in 1803.

Miro was succeeded in 1792 by François Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, who became governor and intendant of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida. Carondelet was a native of Flanders who had risen by great zeal and ability to a responsible position in the service of Spain. The five years of his governorship were filled with stirring and significant events. The French Revolution was sending out its thrills of hope and horror to the uttermost parts of the earth, and Louisiana, still largely a French province, reaped a rich harvest of its excitement. First came a number of royalist *émigrés* who were received with joy and given large tracts of land upon which to found settlements. Then came the agents of the French Jacobins who published an inflammatory address from "The Freemen of France to their Brothers in Louisiana."

"The hour has struck, Frenchmen of Louisiana," it said. "The moment has arrived when despotism must disappear from the earth. . . . Now is the time to cease being slaves of a government, to which you were shamefully sold; and no longer to be led on like a herd of cattle, by men who with one word can strip you of what you hold most dear—liberty and property. Compare with your situation that of your friends—the free Americans. Look at the province of Kentucky, deprived of outlets

CHAPTER IV.

A DIPLOMATIC DRAMA: THE GREAT PURCHASE.

ON the fourth day of March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President of the United States. He did not ride up to the capitol alone, dismount, hitch his horse to a fence post, and then walk into the audience room to read his fifteen-minute inaugural, as stated by many of the old school books; but what was more significant was that he was a true democrat, mild, pacific, optimistic, trusting implicitly the ultimate sense of the American people. He was an aristocrat, born and bred, yet few men ever lived who had a more pious contempt for the tinsel glitter of royalty, or the noisy exhibition of rank and supposed social superiority. Of personal magnetism, oratory, dash and verve, of qualities that compel respect and herald leadership from afar, Jefferson had almost none; yet few entered his presence without feeling the magic spell of his peculiar power. He was six feet two-and-a-half inches tall, loosely built, red-headed, sandy-complexioned. A sunny countenance and a bland smile covered a political cunning that surprised his friends and discomfited his foes. He was approachable, friendly, even-tempered, a brilliant conversationalist, dabbled in science, philosophy, literature, agriculture, and was never at a loss for a plane on which to meet an individual or a clever expedient to avoid a difficulty. His manner was rather stiff and awkward as a result of natural timidity. He sat in "a lounging manner, on one hip commonly, and with one of his shoulders elevated much above the other," presenting a "shackling air." His dress was plain and reckless, and his red-plush waistcoat, corduroy breeches, yarn stockings and slippers down at the heels, afforded no end of merriment to his aristocratic opponents.

Such was the outward aspect of the man the American people had elected to deal on equal terms with the crowned heads of Europe, with Pitt and Godoy, Talleyrand and Napoleon. Beneath the surface, however, there burned a fiery passion for liberty, a zeal for the public welfare, a disinterested patriotism, and a determined continuity of purpose which might swerve from the direct path but never lost sight of the end in view. His methods were peaceful and conciliatory but he knew how to hint at the use of the "mailed fist" in a way that proved far more effective than any amount of blustering could have done. Jefferson had a choice lot of theoretical vagaries that came out in his rambling talk and loose writings which were seized upon by his political enemies to discredit his intelligence and balance as a political leader; but his enthusiasm for revolutionary principles and philosophic theories were never allowed to interfere with his political shrewdness and supreme common sense in dealing with practical issues. They have sufficed, however, to cause his character to be misunderstood by early historians, all of the Federalist school, and it is only in the last quarter of a century that a true view of his administration has been obtained. John W. Foster has pronounced him the greatest politician America has yet produced and Mr. Henry Adams, whose innate hostility is too evident in his writings, says: "This sandy face, with hazel eyes and sunny aspect; this loose, shackling person; this rambling and often brilliant conversation, belonged to the controlling influences of American history, more necessary to the story than three-fourths of the official papers, which only hid the truth. Jefferson's personality during these eight years appeared to be the government, and impressed itself, like that of Bonaparte, although by a different process, on the mind of the nation." His cabinet was strong, but under the complete domination of his will, and until the days of Abraham Lincoln no man ever had such absolute control of the nation or deserved equal credit for the acts of his administration.

Across the Atlantic three towering personalities peered through the murky diplomatic air toward the horizon of the New World. One was Don Manuel Godoy, dissipated, unscrupulous, able, the "Prince of Peace," the despised Spaniard before whose diplomacy Napoleon had to bow. He was the power behind the throne of Spain, and his enforced retirement alone paved the way for the ambition of France. Behind the ambitious First Consul stood Talleyrand, the conspiring, trafficking, ex-Bishop of Autun, who was sorry that he had ever sympathized with liberty, and on the famous 18th Brumaire, betrayed the French republic with as little conscience as he used in his efforts to restore New France in the Mississippi valley. He knew not the truth, recked not friend or foe, scrupled at no means to restore the despotism and ancient glory of the French monarchy. In the breadth and steadiness of his purposes and in conscienceless political cunning he was the superior of his chief. Above all towered the matchless, picturesque Napoleon Bonaparte, who, as Henry Adams says, "like Milton's Satan on his throne of state,—sat unapproachable on his bad eminence; or, when he moved the dusky air felt an unusual weight." He had turned his eyes toward America, and only fate, with the aid of Jefferson's pacific diplomacy, prevented a river of blood flooding our western wilderness.

France had never become reconciled to the loss of Louisiana or ceased to hope for its restoration. When Count de Vergennes planned a treaty of alliance to aid our Revolutionary forefathers, he had a covetous eye on an American colony. He later made definite advances to Spain for the purchase of Louisiana, but the condition of the French treasury made it impossible to pay the price demanded by Spain. In 1795, at the Peace of Bâle, the French republic made an effort to obtain the retrocession, and in 1797, under the leadership of Carnot and Barthelemy, the French Directory offered Godoy a munificent sum for Louisiana. Talleyrand had wandered through America in 1794, and correctly interpreted the spirit of our nation to rule alone in the United States. He returned to France, our implacable enemy, and, as

foreign minister of the French Directory in 1798, he began his intrigues to shut up the aspiring nation "within the limits which Nature seems to have traced for them." He sent Citizen Guille-mardet to Spain to protest against carrying out the provisions of the treaty of 1795 and offer the aid of France to put "an end to the ambition of the Americans" who, he said, were "devoured by pride, ambition, and cupidity" and were ruled by the Cabinet of St. James. "Let the Court of Madrid cede these districts [the Floridas and Louisiana] to France, and from that moment the power of America is bounded by the limit which it may suit the interests and the tranquillity of France and Spain to assign her." The advantage to Spain was to accrue from having the French provinces as an impenetrable barrier to the aggressions of the United States upon her vast dominions to the west and south.

As a preliminary step to the success of this policy Talleyrand secured the dismissal of Godoy as head of the Spanish council; but it was destined to failure from the venality of its author. The infamous X. Y. Z. fiasco drove Talleyrand out of power and all but provoked an open declaration of war by the United States.

Talleyrand's next move was to ally himself with the fortunes of the adventurer, Bonaparte, who returned from Egypt in 1799 to execute his *coup d'état* and become First Consul. Napoleon readily accepted Talleyrand's policy and for three years assiduously nursed an ambition for a colonial empire in America. Spain had ceded her share of the Island of St. Domingo to France in 1795 and had now sunk to such a state of dependence as to be a mere tail to Napoleon's kite. The plan of the First Consul was soon matured. He would obtain from the craven Spanish monarch the retrocession of Louisiana. This should be secret. Then he would use St. Domingo as an excuse for a military expedition and as a basis of operations from which he could suddenly land an army at New Orleans before the United States could offer any definite resistance. Once in possession of Louisiana, time and his own star could dictate further conquests. Reactionary Europe would gladly see democracy throttled in its last stronghold.

With an energy never wanting at this period of his career, Napoleon set about his new task. Peace must be made with the United States, England, and Austria. Difficulties with the first two were to be settled by diplomacy; with Austria by blood and iron. The irascible John Adams had declared after the X. Y. Z. imbroglio that he would never send another minister to France under existing conditions; but with rare self-sacrifice he braved the war sentiment of his party and in March, 1800, sent over a non-partisan commission at the request of the suppliant Talleyrand. Joseph Bonaparte was at the head of the French commissioners and negotiations made rapid progress; but the interference of Napoleon, whose successes in the Austrian campaign made him arrogant, threatened to ruin the peace. At last the Treaty of Morfontaine was signed, September 30, 1800, and finally ratified by the Senate under protest, December 19, 1801.

Meanwhile Austria had been humbled and the Peace of Luneville had removed her from among Napoleon's obstacles. England had likewise been pacified in October, and now the way was clear for the prosecution of his colonial designs. So eager was Napoleon to get control of his projected colony that within six weeks after his victory at Marengo, convinced that he was master of the situation, without waiting for the conclusion of any of the above treaties, he dispatched a courier to Citizen Alquier, French minister at Madrid, bearing orders for him to conclude a treaty for the retrocession of Louisiana to France. The compensation was to be an equivalent addition to the domain of the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of the Spanish King. In August, 1800, General Berthier was sent over to take charge of the negotiations on account of their importance and the secrecy demanded. Berthier's instructions were contained in the famous *projet* of a treaty of retrocession drawn up by Talleyrand. "The French Republic," it said, "pledges itself to procure for the Duke of Parma in Italy an aggrandizement of territory to contain at least one million inhabitants; the Republic charges itself with procuring the consent of Austria and the other states interested,

so that the Duke may be put in possession of his new territory at the coming peace between France and Austria. Spain on her side pledges herself to retrocede to the French republic the colony of Louisiana, with the same extent it actually has in the hands of Spain." She was further to add to this cession that of the two Floridas and give to France six ships of war. The two powers were to make common cause against any nation that should oppose the execution of this engagement. But King Charles refused to grant the Floridas or the six ships and Berthier was compelled to conclude the bargain without them. On October 1, Berthier signed the treaty of retrocession at San Ildefonso. The treaty of peace with the United States had been signed by Joseph Bonaparte not twenty-four hours before, but, while the one completely undid the work of the other, in the crooked policy of Talleyrand, it appeared to be a double diplomatic triumph for Napoleon.

In the midst of success, however, the black figure of Godoy appeared in the shadow of the Spanish Court to mock at the Frenchmen's supremacy over Charles IV. As the time for the actual transfer approached, Lucian Bonaparte, Napoleon's ablest brother, was sent over to Spain to take charge of affairs and Godoy was recalled as the only man able to uphold the honor of Spain. It was now Greek against Greek, for the wily Corsican was met by a cold-blooded villainy equal to his own. Lucian was bribed into signing a treaty which thwarted Napoleon's designs in Portugal, and Godoy began accumulating obstacles to delay giving possession of Louisiana. A new treaty was signed at Madrid, March 21, 1801, in which the bounds of the new kingdom for the Prince of Parma were settled. Parma was to be made King of Etruria (Tuscany) and was invited to Paris where he was entertained with patronizing hospitality. But when he reached his new Italian possession he found it garrisoned by French troops and ruled by French officers. Under such conditions he was the mere shadow of a King, and Godoy soon let it be understood that the delivery of Louisiana would have to wait on a better fulfillment of the treaty on the part of the First

Consul. Bonaparte was furious, but Godoy remained firm and cool. He stood by his guns and Napoleon determined to crush him; but in doing so he lost valuable time, and every moment was precious in carrying out his cherished scheme. Delay would be fatal; and indeed, from this time forth every hour put Napoleon farther away from the promised land of Louisiana. But European complications, skillfully wrought by the magic of the hated Godoy, stood not alone in the way of Napoleon's ambition; two obstacles beyond the sea loomed bigger with each passing day, and it may be well to examine these before proceeding with the narrative.

The first of these was the United States, whose interest, ambition, and sturdy tenacity of purpose were well known to Talleyrand, if not to Napoleon. "Spain," according to Mr. Henry Adams, "lay alongside the south and west of the United States like a whale—huge, helpless, profitable. Her rule stretched from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulf, including Texas, Mexico, and California, as well as Louisiana; while still farther down, South America even to Patagonia was also under her sway. Far more than half the territory of the United States has been gained from this vast inert bulk, rarely in ways not open to criticism." The Americans did not object to the control of this immense region by the decrepit monarchy of Spain; it was only when a powerful and aggressive nation like France began to intrigue to get possession that the United States was thoroughly aroused. Spain was an unloved though not a bad neighbor; but who could foretell the future complications if France under the monstrous autocrat, Napoleon, ruled just beyond our sparsely-settled western border? Every neighbor in Europe was suffering from French aggression; why should the republic of the United States fare better at the hands of the despoiler?

Fortunately for the United States, a partisan of France occupied the presidential chair. A war with France had narrowly been averted in 1798 by the patriotism and courage of John Adams. Any hasty action would have now been fatal. Napoleon

had set his heart on an American colony and could not be bullied. Whatever feelings we may have with regard to Jefferson's temporizing diplomacy, there can be no doubt that it was wise; for time ruined Napoleon's scheme and the President's policy was justified by the event. Jefferson had been hailed by the press in the United States and in Europe as the Friend of France. In theory he was a disciple of Rousseau, having seen at close range the early events of the French Revolution, and sympathized with the revolutionists; but the Reign of Terror had dampened his ardor and the *coup d'état* of Napoleon had still further shocked his democracy. Nevertheless he came into office in 1801 feeling that the late rupture with France had been largely caused by the Federalist agitators, and determined to pursue, if possible, an open policy of friendship with France and Spain. He had been slow to believe the rumors of French designs in America, and in August, 1801, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston was sent as minister to France with very mild instructions. Jefferson's real feelings, however, were shown in a letter to C. C. Claiborne, who had been sent down as governor of the Mississippi Territory shortly after his accession to the Presidency. With regard to Spanish control of Louisiana he said: "We consider her possession of the adjacent country as most favorable to our interests, and should see with an extreme pain any other nation substituted for them."

Before Livingston sailed rumors of the retrocession of Louisiana became more definite. Although it had been nearly a year since Berthier had signed the treaty, such profound secrecy had been observed that the facts were not known. When Livingston arrived in November, he confronted Talleyrand with the accusation. The imperturbable ex-bishop flatly denied the treaty. Livingston wrote the result of the interview to Jefferson, but in the very mail that Jefferson received Talleyrand's explicit denial he received a copy of the treaty itself, which the Frenchman's arch-enemy, Godoy, had contrived to let fall into the hands of Rufus King at London. Jefferson was thus rudely awakened to Talleyrand's treachery and became alarmed. Before proceeding

further, however, it is necessary to notice the second trans-Atlantic obstacle to Napoleon's success; and that was the island of St. Domingo.

Before the French Revolution, St. Domingo was largely a Spanish island; but the French owned the western end which, under the old régime, was far the most important dependency of France. In 1789, it is said, that nearly two-thirds of the commercial interests of France centered in St. Domingo. In prosperous years over seven hundred ships, employing eighty thousand seamen, plied the seas in handling its exports and imports valued at more than a hundred and forty million dollars. In a population of 600,000, five-sixths were full-blooded negroes held in rigid slavery. Of the remaining hundred thousand half were free mulattos without political or social privileges and half were French creoles. The fifty thousand French creoles lived off the labors of the other eleven-twelfths of the inhabitants in a semi-Parisian ease and luxury and formed an aristocratic and governing caste. Between the mulattos and the creoles was a natural feud which burst into open warfare under the electric thrill of liberty sent out by the French Revolution. During the struggle of the two dominant classes, a spark touched off the "vast powder magazine upon which they both rested. One August night in the year 1791 the whole plain of the north was swept with fire and drenched with blood. Five hundred thousand negro slaves in the depths of barbarism revolted, and the horrors of the massacre made Europe and America shudder."

Three years of convulsions followed and the French National Assembly proclaimed the freedom of the slaves. The French Revolution brought forth its Napoleon Bonaparte; the Haytian Revolution brought forth a scarcely less remarkable figure, the most distinguished negro of all history, Toussaint L'Ouverture. The burning eloquence of Wendell Phillips so exaggerated the virtues of this hero that the rugged outlines of his character have generally been obscured in a halo of glittering eulogy. Toussaint was a full black, the grandson of a native chief on the coast of

Africa. He was born in 1746, making him forty-five years old at the opening of the negro insurrection. He was a man of great sobriety, indefatigable energy, and an audacity and cunning equal to that of Napoleon. In ordinary affairs he was gentle and straightforward, but when aroused vehement, treacherous, and even ferocious. His morbid ambition, his indifference to means in gratifying his lust for power, his reckless personal courage, his fatalism, led Mr. Adams to draw a striking parallel between his character and career and that of Bonaparte. He was indeed the Napoleon of St. Domingo, and was hated by the greater Napoleon with a fervor not uncommon between strikingly similar characters whose aims conflict.

Toussaint in the early period of the war fought on the side of the Royalist creoles under Spanish pay, but when the Republic proclaimed the freedom of the slaves in 1794 he transferred his allegiance and took over his army of 4,000 men with which he executed the sudden blow that drove the Spaniards out of the island. A year later he was made brigadier-general in the service of the republic and within two years more was general-in-chief, with military command over the whole colony. In this position he was practically dictator and began paving the way for a crown. When France and the United States were on the brink of war in 1798, Toussaint did not hesitate to favor the United States. Amicable trade relations were established and American seamen ran a thriving business with the island. In this way, Toussaint became independent of French supplies and Edward Stevens, the able American Consul, wrote home that the negro chieftain was only waiting for a more auspicious time to publish a declaration of independence. The French Consul was banished, and in May, 1801, Toussaint executed his Napoleonic *coup d'état* by assuming the dictatorship for life, with power to appoint his successor.

The problem in hand is now fully stated. Napoleon has set his heart on the occupation of Louisiana, and has made peace in Europe in order to free his hand for the work. The treaty of

retrocession is fixed. Preparations are being rapidly pushed to fit out the fleet and army for the expedition. Across the Atlantic is the young republic, weak in preparation, slow to anger, but determined in policy. In the presidential chair sits Thomas Jefferson, peaceful, adroit, concealing beneath his slouchy posture an unending flow of conversation, his sunny smile and suave manners, a political cunning never surpassed. Anxious for peace himself, his finger is on the pulse of the nation and every throb of its heart is carefully measured. At the threshold of the United States is the island of St. Domingo, the only center from which a French colonial system in America can be built up, and which Bonaparte must control before he can safely occupy Louisiana. It is now under the dictatorship of Toussaint L'Ouverture, with 20,000 disciplined troops, able, ambitious, defiant. The First Consul must act, act quickly and powerfully; yet sleepless energy was the basic principle of his greatness and the lethargy which sometimes hindered his later enterprises was now wholly absent.

During the month of October, 1801, the French and Spanish ports where the combined fleet was being prepared, saw immense activity. A large army was to accompany the fleet and General Leclerc, Napoleon's brother-in-law and ablest subordinate, was put in charge. The "Napoleon of the Antilles" was to be crushed, slavery restored at Guadaloupe and St. Domingo and the island used as a stepping stone to things higher. To this end Napoleon did not hesitate to use a bit of the meanest diplomacy that ever blackened the annals of mankind. Leclerc was given a proclamation which he was to publish to the blacks. "If you are told," it said, "that these forces are destined to ravish your liberty, answer: The Republic has given us liberty, the Republic will not suffer it to be taken from us!" In order to disarm Toussaint with flattery he wrote: "We have conceived esteem for you and we take pleasure in recognizing you and proclaiming the great services you have rendered the French people. If the French flag floats over St. Domingo, it is to

you and the brave blacks that they owe it. Assist the captain-general with your counsels, your influence, and your talents. What can you desire?—the liberty of the blacks? You know that in all the countries where we have been, we have given it to the peoples who had it not." Further assurance was given in his message to the French Legislature. "At St. Domingo and Guadaloupe there are no more slaves. All is free there; all will there remain free." But to Leclerc his instructions were far different. "The moment you have rid yourself of Toussaint, Christophe, Dessalines, and the principal brigands, and the masses of the blacks shall be disarmed, send over to the continent all the blacks and mulattoes who have played a rôle in the civil troubles. Rid us of these gilded Africans, and we shall have nothing more to wish." Later he wrote: "As regards the return of the blacks to the old regime,—use the utmost caution. For some time yet vigilance, order, a discipline at once rural and military, must take the place of positive and pronounced slavery."

Napoleon's policy of combining force and lying diplomacy was for the time being all too successful. Leclerc, with his large fleet and superb army of ten thousand men, arrived at St. Domingo in January, 1802. A desolating war of three months duration followed. The magnificent French cavalcade melted before the attacks of the ferocious guerilla chieftains and abject failure stared Leclerc in the face. But treachery appeared in the forces of the blacks and Toussaint's ablest lieutenant, Christophe, surrendered his posts to the French. Betrayed by his friends, Toussaint, in an evil moment, decided to trust the word of Bonaparte and on May 1, 1802, put himself in the hands of Leclerc. It was his fatal misstep and sealed his doom. On June 10 he was arrested, hurried on board ship, and sent to Brest. From there he disappeared. The few who knew the secret kept silent through shame. He was sent to a dungeon high in the Jura Mountains, where his tropical nature succumbed to the cold and dampness and solitude of a single winter. For refinement of cruelty and treachery this was even Napoleon's masterpiece.

The betrayal of the leaders, however, did not give Leclerc possession of the island. It only led to premature action and the ruin of Napoleon's cause. Within four days of the arrest of Toussaint orders were given for the restoration of slavery in Guadaloupe. When news of this order was spread among the blacks of St. Domingo, their fanaticism became frenzy. "They laugh at death" wrote General Leclerc. The first French army of seventeen thousand men was destroyed in fighting the blacks. A second was swept away by yellow fever. Before Leclerc had been in St. Domingo nine months he wrote to his chief that of twenty-eight thousand three hundred men sent to St. Domingo, only four thousand remained fit for service. 'Add to our losses that of five thousand sailors, and the occupation of St. Domingo has cost us till now twenty-four thousand men, and we are not yet definitely masters of it. In order to be master of St. Domingo, you must send me twelve thousand men without losing a single day." In addition he demanded twelve hundred thousand dollars in specie and five thousand more men for the summer campaign, without all of which said he, the colony "will be forever lost to France." In less than two months more Leclerc himself followed his army to the grave and Napoleon's plan had failed. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the frenzied ex-slaves, and the tropical fevers of St. Domingo had drained the First Consul's treasury, buried his armies, and saved Louisiana.

Meanwhile the United States had become thoroughly aroused. When Toussaint and the other black leaders had been seized, Napoleon, thinking the conquest ended, ordered that the expedition which was to occupy Louisiana be immediately fitted out. "My intention is," said he, "to take possession of Louisiana with the shortest delay, and that this expedition be made in the utmost secrecy, under the appearance of being directed on St. Domingo." We have seen this expedition sink into the yawning abyss on the island which was to be only its pretended destination. The secret of its intent, however, was soon out. Before Living-

ston had been in Paris a second month he wrote: "I know that the armament, destined in the first instance for Hispaniola, is to proceed to Louisiana provided Toussaint makes no opposition." By the spring of 1802 the designs of France became well known in the United States. Livingston was coldly received and soon ignored; American agents and merchants were maltreated in St. Domingo; the pacific Madison became irritable and Jefferson, the friend of France, became pugnacious. The President had instructed Livingston in September, 1801, to suggest to France that she secure the cession of West Florida to the United States, which "would contribute to reconcile" us to the French occupation of New Orleans; but his attitude was now changed. Dupont de Nemours was a French gentleman of influence who was at the time on a visit to the United States. Being on excellent terms with Dupont, Jefferson decided to send through him an unofficial message to Bonaparte. This method of communication was forcible by reason of the fact that Jefferson was known to be a friend of France and he could thus analyze the situation more coldly. He enclosed to Dupont a letter to Livingston which he desired him to read and then seal. In regard to the cession of Louisiana to France Jefferson wrote to Dupont: "The cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to us would be a palliation, yet I believe it would be no more, and that this measure will cost France, and perhaps not very long hence, a war which will annihilate her on the ocean, and place that element under the despotism of two nations—which I am not reconciled to the more because my own would be one of them." The enclosure to Livingston which Dupont was to read and report to Napoleon was couched in still stronger terms.

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

This was no flourish of the "mailed fist" or blustering threat

of immediate war; it was simply an acute and forcible statement of facts which would readily appeal to statesmen. Talleyrand and Napoleon knew how narrowly a war had been averted only three years before and that the Federalists were still actively hostile to France. Moreover the south and west which had furnished the majority that had elected Jefferson were ready at any time to fight for Louisiana. For Jefferson to desert the south and west would have been political suicide and this Jefferson was the last man to commit. His language and attitude have been misinterpreted by Mr. Henry Adams, whose ideas of Jefferson coincide too nearly with those of his bellicose grandfather who had, with such bad grace surrendered the executive mansion to Jefferson, and whose opinion has been too generally accepted by later historians.

Jefferson's keen message of warning to France was followed by an event which complicated the situation and forced his hand. That event was the suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans by the Spanish intendant, Don Juan Ventura Morales. The treaty of 1795 had stipulated that if the right of deposit at New Orleans was denied after three years another *entrepôt* should be provided. This Morales refused to grant and every one recognized his action as a result of the retrocession. Tennessee and Kentucky clamored loudly for war. The Federalists echoed the cry and, in those days of violent partisanship, rejoiced at Jefferson's dilemma. He must now adopt their policy and declare war or lose his western supporters. All watched eagerly for the result.

Jefferson's political insight never met a severer test and his astute party manipulation never won a greater success. Congress met and waited for the President to declare himself; but in his message he made no allusion to the closure of the Mississippi. Regarding the matter uppermost in everyone's mind he simply said: "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations which

will doubtless have a just weight in any deliberations of the Legislature connected with the subject." The war party was ignored. Jefferson had no mind to be forced into war nor to lose his western adherents. Beneath a nonchalant appearance of indifference he concealed the utmost diplomatic activity. Yrujo, the minister of Spain, was urged to protest against the action of the Spanish intendant's closure of the Mississippi. Yrujo wrote "a veritable diatribe" to Morales and succeeded in getting a renunciation of his action by the Spanish governor, Salcedo, and later a restoration of the right of deposit by the Spanish government. The French *chargé*, Pichon, was deluged with as wily a series of threats as were ever concocted. Gallatin, Madison, and Jefferson all tried their hands. Pichon was thoroughly frightened, and sent home repeated cries of distress. "It is impossible," said he, "to be more bitter than this government is at the present posture of affairs and at the humiliating attitude in which our silence about Louisiana places them. Mr. Jefferson will be forced to yield to necessity his pretensions and scruples against a British alliance. I noticed at his table that he redoubled his civilities and attentions to the British *chargé*. I should also say that he treats me with much consideration and politeness, in spite of the actual state of affairs." To the British minister the President reiterated "with additional force the resolution of the country never to abandon the claim of the free navigation" of the Mississippi, and declared that if "they should be obliged" to draw the sword "they would throw away the scabbard."

All this feminine but surprisingly successful finesse was private and secret; Congress and the West demanded something public, something open and tangible. The administration therefore decided to ask for the appropriation of two million dollars to defray the expenses of negotiation and send a minister extraordinary to support Livingston in buying New Orleans and the Floridas. James Monroe, who was specially popular in the southwest, was nominated for this mission. To Monroe, Jefferson wrote: "If we cannot, by a purchase of the country, insure to

ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it; and it may be necessary, on your failure on the Continent, to cross the Channel." When Monroe arrived in Washington the efforts of the administration were redoubled. Madison had sent for Pichon and put before him every argument the United States had to offer and later refused to transact business on the ground that Talleyrand was not recognizing Livingston. The action of the States of New York, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania in declaring for hostilities was unostentatiously paraded in diplomatic circles; Gallatin talked of war; General Smith, the administration leader of Congress, at a public dinner to Monroe offered the toast, "Peace, if peace is honorable; war, if war is necessary!" Before starting Monroe had a shrewd and inflammatory talk with Pichon concerning which the *chargé* wrote: "He did not conceal from me that if his negotiation failed, the administration had made up its mind to act with the utmost vigor, and to receive the overtures which England was incessantly making." Jefferson wrote to Dupont de Nemours: "Our circumstances are so imperious as to admit of no delay as to our course, and the use of the Mississippi so indispensable that we can not hesitate one moment to hazard our existence for its maintenance. If we fail in this effort to put it beyond the reach of accident, we see the destinies we have to run, and prepare at once for them."

All this excited talk had been prepared for by Jefferson's unofficial message through Dupont to Bonaparte; much of it was for political effect and part of it was insincere. Jefferson did not mean to have war. Peace was his passion and in the pursuit of it he was "steady as the magnet itself." He had not hesitated to declare war on the Barbary pirates but he did not want to become entangled in European affairs. His war talk was simply a shield for his diplomacy in which he had a sublime confidence which would have been ridiculous had it not been justified by the result. Monroe was sent to France with instructions to

join Livingston in offering any sum within ten million dollars for New Orleans and West Florida.

Meanwhile the time gained by Jefferson in allaying the war excitement in Congress and the West had wrought profound changes in Europe. The King of Spain, under the domination of the imperious Godoy, had held back the actual transfer of his American colony. The First Consul fretted and fumed but Godoy was tenacious. Gouvion St. Cyr was sent over to the Spanish court but not until October 15, 1802, did his bluster obtain the final signature of Charles IV., and then under the most exacting and definite conditions. Spain demanded, first, that the new kingdom of Etruria should be recognized by England, Austria, and the Duke of Tuscany, who had been dethroned to make room for Parma; second, that France should give a written pledge that she would never alienate Louisiana and that she would restore it to Spain in case the King of Etruria should lose his power. Both these things St. Cyr pledged in the name of the First Consul. Before anything definite could now be done, however, Napoleon was fast caught in the toils of European politics.

"What Bonaparte," says Mr. Schouler, "regarded as indispensable in military science, Jefferson had applied to politics—an accurate calculation of all contingencies in the first place and then giving to accident its due allowance. The accident for which Jefferson had allowed was, in truth, the speedy renewal of hostilities between France and England." This expectation was to be realized sooner than he had hoped. Early in February, 1803, came warnings that the peace of Amiens was to be broken. France charged England with perfidy in not surrendering Malta; England preferred counter charges of bad faith against Napoleon; war was in the air. The tense situation was ended on March 12th, when at a reception in the drawing room of Josephine, the First Consul abruptly confronted the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, before the assembled ambassadors of Europe, with the remark: "I find your nation wants war again."

"You have just finished a war of fifteen years. You want another war of fifteen years." "I must either have Malta or war!" In England preparations for the inevitable conflict already busied the ministry and enlivened the nation. Two months before Napoleon's mind had been made up. He was tired of peace. The fifty thousand men and vast amounts of money he had sunk in St. Domingo without any effect except to make the island worthless for a generation, aroused infinite disgust in his impatient soul. The news of the death of Leclerc which reached him in the first week of January, 1803, was the last straw. Yet he kept his own councils for two months. The orders for the assembling of the thirty-five thousand men for which General Rochambeau in St. Domingo had called were allowed to stand. Napoleon was no stranger to defeat and could abandon his dearest enterprise with equanimity when pursuit became hopeless; but abandonment of St. Domingo would be a public confession of failure for which he was not ready until he could create a diversion in Europe. Early in April he was ready for the startling announcement. He had made up his mind to part with Louisiana; and while Monroe was hastening to the French coast his plan was announced to Talleyrand. The building up of the French colonial empire in America had been Talleyrand's highest ambition and he opposed the renunciation. But Napoleon was not to be balked by a subordinate. On April 10, 1803, he summoned two of his ministers, of whom his Finance Minister, Barbé Marbois, was one, and announced that he feared that England would seize Louisiana. "The conquest of Louisiana," said he, "will be easy if they will only descend upon it. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their power. . . . If I were in their place, I certainly would not have waited. . . . I contemplate turning it over to the United States. I should hardly be able to say that I cede it to them, for we are not yet in possession of it. But even a short delay may leave me nothing but a vain title to transmit to these republicans, whose friendship I seek. They are asking me for but a single city of Louisiana, but I already regard the whole

colony as lost, and it seems to me that in the hands of this rising power it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it." The next day he summoned Barbé Marbois and delivered to him one of his short, sententious orations of command:

"Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season; I renounce Louisiana. It is not New Orleans that I cede; it is the whole colony, without reserve. I know the price of what I abandon. I have proved the importance I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had the object of recovering it. I renounce it with the greatest regret; to attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate the affair. Have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston."

Talleyrand, however, had seen the determination of Bonaparte and determined to keep a hand in the negotiations. For months Livingston had applied himself with a sublime pertinacity to the end to which Napoleon was now advancing. He had plied Talleyrand with arguments and memorials. Finding him obdurate and supercilious he had directed his efforts toward the First Consul himself to whom he presented a memorial which Joseph Bonaparte assured him the First Consul had read and considered with care. So meager had been his success that the only encouragement he could send Jefferson was the disconsolate note: "Do not absolutely despair." But within a few hours of the above orders to Marbois imagine his surprise when the imperturbed Talleyrand asked him what the United States would give for the whole of Louisiana! Livingston was disconcerted, and to gain time for reflection, stated that the aims of the United States extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas and announced that Monroe was speedily expected with fuller instructions. Monroe arrived in Paris the next day, April 12, but Livingston, recovered from his surprise, hung about Talleyrand all the forenoon hoping to reap alone the fruit of his assiduous labors. The next afternoon the French ministers were entertained by Living-

ston in order that Monroe might be introduced. Livingston confided to Barbé Marbois, Talleyrand's "extraordinary conduct" and after the party had broken up went home with him and those two men, in a midnight conversation, practically sealed the bargain. Bonaparte had mentioned fifty million francs as the price to be demanded; but Marbois set the price at one hundred million francs, leaving the American government to pay to their own citizens the spoliation claims demanded from France. The American claims amounted to twenty-five millions—making the price one hundred and twenty-five million francs or twenty-five million dollars for the whole western bank of the Mississippi, extending from New Orleans to the Lake of the Woods, and indefinitely westward. This was not an exorbitant price, but Livingston had the effrontery to offer twenty million francs or about four million dollars, professing not to want the western bank, but only New Orleans and the Floridas. Livingston, overjoyed at the prospect, went home and sat up until three o'clock to write Jefferson of the opening of the negotiations without Monroe's help. "We shall do all we can," he wrote, "to cheapen the purchase; but my present sentiment is that we shall buy."

Livingston was right. Two weeks of dangerous haggling over the price followed during which a violent quarrel took place in the Bonaparte family over the intended transfer. Both Lucian and Joseph Bonaparte vigorously opposed the sale of Louisiana and the picturesque scenes between the three brothers are portrayed in dramatic chapters in Hosmer's "History of the Louisiana Purchase." On April 29 the price was agreed upon at sixty million francs in money plus twenty million francs in spoliation claims to be assumed by the American government—in all eighty million francs, or fifteen million dollars. The treaty of cession was dated April 30, 1803, and closed the negotiations.

The purchase of Louisiana was the grandest diplomatic achievement in American history. When Livingston signed his name to the treaty, he arose excitedly and shook hands with Marbois and Monroe. "We have lived long," he exclaimed, "but this

is the noblest work of our lives." And indeed it was, though Livingston had signed the Declaration of Independence and Monroe was to be, next to Washington, the most popular President of the United States. Monroe deserved little credit for the negotiations and claimed little; it was a triumph for Livingston, backed by the administration at Washington. If Livingston is not our greatest diplomat he was, at least, the most fortunate; for next to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, the annexation of Louisiana was the most important event in American history. It opened the portals of the United States to an illustrious career beyond the Mississippi. Hitherto our national ambition had halted at the Father of Waters and our government had trembled at the prospect of this outlet to our western commerce being closed at the nod of a foreign potentate. A storm of western wrath, a few sly presidential innuendoes, a holocaust of barbarian frenzy and tropical pestilence, a tenacious diplomatic siege, a rumble of European war, and a few strokes of the destiny-laden pen changed all. The barrier to our westward expansion vanished like a dream; a vast, seemingly illimitable empire stretched away toward the setting sun. The United States was now assured of a dominating influence on the American continent; the danger of undesirable neighbors pointing cannon at our western frontier was forever removed, and the advancing tide of our civilization could only be checked on the shores of the broad Pacific. This was the conquest of peace and of peaceful methods; the annals of war present few greater triumphs and no results of greater significance to the nations involved.

CHAPTER V.

LOUISIANA TERRITORY UNDER THE UNITED STATES.

THE news of the purchase of Louisiana arrived in America the latter part of June, 1803. Its importance was immediately felt and the consequences of the purchase became the all-absorbing topic of the day. At bottom the whole country was filled with serene joy; but on the surface ripples of discontent foreboded the lashing waves of partisan conflict soon to roughen the political sea. The Republicans were pleased but perplexed. The loyalty of the southwest had been retained; they had lowered the taxes and at the same time paid off huge shares of the national debt; their policy had been popular at home and their diplomacy had been brilliantly successful abroad; the Federalists had first been put on the defensive and then routed. They were therefore happy; but this feeling of content was clouded by the fact that new responsibilities were upon them. They had preached strict construction and a limited executive, put forth the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, and stormed at the monarchism of the Federalists; and now Jefferson, democrat of democrats, the extreme advocate of State Rights, had assumed an authority exercised by no previous president and had arbitrarily bought a foreign empire to be incorporated into the territory of the United States. New constitutional problems had to be faced, the new territory to be governed, and the Republican supremacy to be maintained.

Jefferson set about the new task with his usual energy and adroitness. He was too true to his political theories not to have constitutional scruples, and without delay drew up an amendment embodying his ideas of the proper way to dispose of the newly acquired territory without doing violence to the constitution.

This he submitted to the cabinet. The cabinet, however, were not so tenacious in upholding the theories they had advanced while in opposition and received the proposed amendment coldly. Jefferson then appealed to party leaders outside the cabinet. His proposition met with so little encouragement that he drew up another amendment which he hoped would meet with greater approval; but before it could be thoroughly canvassed, circumstances intervened to force his hand. Rumors were spread abroad that Napoleon was about to change his mind. Livingston's letters became alarming and the Spanish minister Yrujo, who had been such a friend to the administration at Washington, sent to Madison protest after protest against the sale of Louisiana. He quoted the engagement entered into by St. Cyr which bound Napoleon not to alienate the province and declared that since France had not carried out the conditions of her contract for Louisiana, she could not rightfully dispose of it as her own. It was necessary then to act quickly and to present a united front to the enemy. Spain was, in fact, still in possession and who knew what attitude Napoleon would take in the end.

Such considerations led Jefferson to defer to the wishes of his party and to trust the future to right the constitutional error. In the presence of a threatened war with Spain a mistake would be serious and he decided that Congress should share the responsibility with the president. A special session was called to meet October 17, 1803. In his message to this Congress, Jefferson said not a word about his proposed amendment or the unconstitutionality of the purchase. He had decided that the all-important thing was to get possession of Louisiana and declared that "with the wisdom of Congress it will rest to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country, for its incorporation into our Union, for rendering the change of government a blessing to our newly adopted brethren, for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property, for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self-government."

The treaty signed by Livingston and Monroe for the purchase of Louisiana consisted of three parts, the treaty of cession and two conventions. The first stipulated that France should turn over to the United States the province as obtained from Spain by the treaty of San Ildefonso; that the inhabitants were to be, as soon as possible, incorporated into the Union as citizens; that in the meantime they should be protected in their liberty, property and religion; and that for twelve years French and Spanish ships should trade in Louisiana on the same basis as American ships. The second part stipulated that the eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was to bear six per cent interest for fifteen years and then to be paid in yearly installments of not less than three million dollars each. The third document related to the payment of the spoliation claims which were not to exceed three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

These documents were put before Congress and the results of the action of the political parties at this time are of two-fold constitutional importance. It marks the extent of the degradation of the Federalists and sounds the death-knell of their party; and it begins an epoch of constitutional expansion by committing the Republicans to a liberal interpretation of the written Constitution.

Regarding the first Mr. McMaster says: "Nothing so finely illustrates the low state to which the once prosperous Federalists were fallen as the turbulent and factious opposition they now made to the acquisition of Louisiana. But a remnant of the great party remained. Tens of thousands of independent thinkers, to whom good government was better than political strife . . . now gave a warm support to the Republican cause. . . . They had seen promised reforms become actual reforms. They had seen the Federalists add eight millions to the public debt in five years. They had seen the Republicans reduce the debt by five millions in two years. They had seen the Federalists go to the very limit of constitutional taxation in the laying of a direct tax. They had seen the Republicans dry

every source of internal revenue and still have money to spare. Never had the government been so smoothly, so savingly, carried on." By way of contrast to these independents he continues: "To the narrow partisans who remained in the Federal ranks the good which Jefferson accomplished went for nothing. . . . They received the news of the best and wisest act of Jefferson's whole administration with a roar of execration they ought to have been ashamed to send up. Some were worried lest the East should become depopulated. Some feared the mere extent of territory would rend the Republic apart. Some affected the language of patriots and lamented the enormous increase the purchase would make in the national debt. . . . Soon Federal writers and printers all over the land were vieing with each other in attempts to show the people what an exceedingly great sum of money fifteen millions of dollars was. Weigh it, and there will be four hundred and thirty-three tons of solid silver. Load it in wagons and there will be eight hundred and sixty-six of them. Stack it up dollar upon dollar, and the pile will be more than three miles high. It would load twenty-five sloops; it would pay an army of twenty-five thousand men forty shillings a week each for twenty-five years; it would, divided among the population of the country, give three dollars for each man, woman, and child. All the gold and all the silver coin in the Union would, if collected, fall vastly short of such a sum. We must for fifteen years to come pay two thousand four hundred and sixty-five dollars interest each day. . . . For whose interest is this purchase made? The South and West. Will they pay a share of the debt? No, for the tax on whiskey has been removed."

Such was the attitude of Federalist agitators; but happily their rantings were of no avail. The mass of the people considered the purchase a bargain and the Senate ratified the treaty on the second day of the session by a vote of twenty-four to seven. Napoleon's ratification was already in the hands of the French *chargé* and on October 21, ratifications were exchanged and Louisiana was ours.

The President had now done his part, and it became the duty of Congress to provide for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the new territory. Congress acted promptly, and a bill with that end in view was introduced into the House.

The discussion of this bill brought forth one of those peculiar paradoxes that occasionally appear in political life. The Republicans who had so strenuously objected to the Presidential prerogative and loose construction in 1798, now advocated the widest extension of the treaty-making power and the placing of autocratic authority over the new territory in the hands of the President. The New England Federalists, led by the Griswolds and Timothy Pickering, took the extremest ground in favor of strict construction and state rights. The bill for a provisional government passed both houses by large majorities and became a law on October 31. The victory of the Republicans left the Federalists and New England full of discontent and nearly ready for secession; but the victory had been at the expense of their old Republican theory of constitutional interpretation. The Constitution had become enlarged, elastic, adaptable, and henceforth was to be interpreted according to the spirit and not the letter. The Federalist idea of nationality had gained ground while Republican common sense had triumphed over her earlier theoretical pedantry and ushered in a new era of wiser and broader constitutional development.

No sooner was the purchase of Louisiana complete than people began to inquire what this new province was—what were its boundaries, its extent, its nature, and its value. As a matter of fact no one knew. Not a boundary was fixed. Its north-eastern limit was muffled in the ignorance that hid the source of the Mississippi; its southeastern boundary was concealed in the sinuous diplomacy that enveloped the mouth of that river. The southern boundary was the Gulf of Mexico but just how much of the coast was included no one could say. The Western limit sank away into the unknown prairies toward the Pacific while

its northward projection remained to be outlined by a convention with England. When Barbé Marbois had been pressed to make definite boundaries, he had gone to Napoleon only to be told that if an obscurity did not exist it would be well to make one.

The first difficulty arose with Spain over the boundary between Louisiana and the Floridas. Livingston and Monroe claimed the purchase included West Florida, as far east as the river Perdido, and had been encouraged by Napoleon in this claim. But Spain obstinately refused to admit the claim to any territory east of the Mississippi, and it remained to be settled by the purchase of Florida. The westward extension along the Gulf should have included part of Texas, but was finally fixed at the Sabine river; while the western boundary followed that river northward, thence along the 94th parallel of longitude to the Red river, followed that river to the 100th parallel, thence north to the Arkansas, trailed that river to the Rockies, thence along the crest of the mountains to the British border. The boundary line along the north was determined by a treaty with England in 1818 fixing it along the 49th parallel from the Rockies to the Lake of the Woods.

This vast extent of territory embraced nearly 900,000 square miles of the richest land the earth affords. Its area was greater than that of the whole thirteen original states or than Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy combined. Tales of its wonderful resources that fell far short of the truth were regarded as absurdly extravagant by the incredulous inhabitants along the Atlantic slope. Federalist cynicism was encouraged by the report of the country sent in to Congress by Jefferson who collected the tales and traditions of hunters and trappers along the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, and transmitted them to Congress in a message. This wonderful message told of Indians of gigantic stature; tall bluffs faced with stone and carved by the hand of nature into a multitude of antique towers; and reached a climax of myth in describing a huge mountain of pure rock-salt towering above the earth, one hundred and eighty

miles long, and forty-five miles broad, all glittering white, with streams of saline water flowing in fissures down its barren slopes. The Federalists bubbled over with ridicule, but specimens of the salt were shown and bushels of it were reported on exhibition at St. Louis and Marietta. If such things were not true, others not less remarkable were, and an expedition sent out by Jefferson was already far away in the western wilds exploring the vast plains and tortuous defiles of the Rockies.

It is now time to turn to New Orleans and see what was happening at the capital of Louisiana during these months big with the fate of empire. When Napoleon had planned to seize Louisiana, he had sent out Pierre Clement Laussat as civil agent to prepare the way for the arrival of General Victor with the military force and to co-operate with him in effecting the transfer. Laussat had arrived in New Orleans March 26, 1803, and promptly set about preparing the people for the French occupation. He issued a proclamation filled with honied words, in which he stated the benevolent intentions of France, and wearily waited for the arrival of General Victor and his army. The French creoles were filled with a delirium of joy at the prospect of restored French citizenship, and presented an address of congratulation to the "Citizen Prefect." But replying to his denunciation of the Spanish régime, they declared: "We should be unworthy of what is to us a source of much pride if we did not acknowledge that we have no cause of complaint against the Spanish Government. We have never groaned under the yoke of an oppressive despotism." In fact a majority of the people had become thoroughly reconciled to Spanish control. They had taken little part in the government, and desired little. Hence they looked upon a change of rulers with a surprising indifference and self-abnegation.

On April 10, Marquis de Caso Calvo arrived from Havana to act as joint commissioner with Governor Salcedo in delivering the province to France. A proclamation was then issued by the Spanish authorities assuring to the inhabitants the protection and

favor under French control which they had enjoyed under Spain. While these things were occupying the attention of the public about New Orleans, a rumor was spread abroad that France was about to transfer her title to the United States. Laussat endeavored to silence this rumor, but it persisted. In the latter part of July he wrote to his government concerning it, but hardly was his letter started when he received a dispatch announcing his appointment as the commissioner of France to receive the province of Louisiana and deliver it to the United States. Following his instructions, a day was set for the first transfer. On November 30, 1803, Calvo, Salcedo, and Laussat, accompanied by all the French and Spanish officers of the province, and a large retinue of clergy and leading citizens, assembled in the old Cabildo, a building that probably surpassed in picturesque and imposing dignity any other civic structure in America at the time, and there went through the ceremonial of transferring the control of Louisiana from Spain to France. The subjects of his Catholic Majesty were absolved from their allegiance and turned over to the authority of the French republic, while the Spanish flag was lowered from the pole in front of the city hall, and the French tri-color hoisted to take its place. A temporary French government was organized, and on the same day Laussat proceeded with his disagreeable task by announcing in a proclamation that the French control was only a preliminary step to its transfer to the commissioners of the United States who were soon to arrive.

The commissioners appointed by Jefferson to receive the territory on the part of the United States were William C. C. Claiborne and Gen. James Wilkinson. The selection of these two men was one of expediency rather than wisdom since neither was particularly fitted for the position. In the face of a threatened war with Spain Jefferson was anxious to get possession at the earliest possible moment, and these men were in the neighborhood at the time. Claiborne was in his twenty-eighth year. He was descended from an old Virginia family, had long been in

the government service, and had been a member of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, as well as a Congressman from that State while yet under the age limit of twenty-five years. In 1802 he was sent to govern the Mississippi Territory, and was from there transferred to the governorship of the new possession. He was a man of fair ability and agreeable personal qualities, but knew nothing of the French or Spanish language, or of the Spanish law which he was called upon arbitrarily to administer. Wilkinson was a wayward, blustering, drunken, intriguing, yet able and shrewd general, who was selected because he had control of the army in the West, which Jefferson made ready to use if the Spaniards should oppose the transfer with violence. A part of the militia of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee was ordered to be ready to march at a moment's warning and troops were collected at Ft. Adams and Natchez.

December 20 was the day set for the final transfer. The Crescent City was to witness for the last time the ceremonial which had during the life time of some of the inhabitants, six times transferred their allegiance from one master to another. By nine o'clock of the appointed day the provincial militia began to gather on the Place d'Armes in front of the Cabildo. Just three weeks had passed since they had manoeuvred in the same place and saluted as the French tri-color mounted the flagstaff to replace the lowering Spanish ensign. It was the heart of their little city and the proud creoles assembled with mingled sadness and curiosity. How soon, some conjectured, would the restless energy of the American destroy the sentiment, the gaiety, the idyllic ease and festive life, which they so much enjoyed?

At noon the signal guns announced the approach of the Americans and a salute of twenty-four guns greeted the cavalcade at the gate of the city. At the head rode Wilkinson and Claiborne, followed by the dragoons in red uniform, the artillery, the infantry, and the French escort. The American troops drew up opposite the French and Spanish on the Place d'Arms and the ceremonies took place from the facing balcony of the Cabildo.

Laussat opened the ceremonies from the chair of state. The treaty of cession was read in both English and French. Laussat read his credentials for alienating the Territory and Claiborne read Jefferson's command to receive it. Laussat then made the formal announcement of the alienation and presented the keys of the city to Claiborne, at the same time absolving the inhabitants of Louisiana from their oath of allegiance to the French republic. Claiborne then took the chair of state and congratulated the people that their political existence was no longer "open to the caprices of chance" and bade them welcome as citizens of the United States. He assured them that their liberty, their property and their religion were safe; that their commerce would be favored, their agriculture encouraged and that they should never again be transferred.

While these things were taking place men of no less than six nationalities crowded the vacant spaces below eager to witness the closing ceremony. For twenty days the symbol of French supremacy had fluttered from the top of its tall staff overlooking the city. It was with sinking hearts that the loyal creoles now saw it slowly descend as the stars and stripes started upward. They met midway of the staff and were saluted. Then, fluttering in the breeze, the stars and stripes climbed to the top, amid the ringing cheers of the few Americans present, there to remain. The French flag descended, trembling to the ground never more to wave above the continent of North America. The dream of the high-souled Champlain as he braved death in the wilds of Canada; the hope that had sustained the chivalric La Salle when treachery and calamity hung like a pall over his soul; the gallantry of Montcalm whose blood helped to sanctify the Plains of Abraham; the iron resolution of Napoleon Bonaparte aided by fifty thousand martyred men in the island of St. Domingo;—all these came to naught and registered failure when the French flag touched the earth on that bright December day in 1803.

The United States was now in possession; the next thing nec-

essary was to provide for the government of the new Territory. Congress had passed a law November 30, giving to the President full power to take possession of the purchased territory and govern it until a new act could be passed. Claiborne as governor, aided by Wilkinson, had in his control for the time being, the whole authority and responsibility of the government. The conditions were peculiar and the situation difficult and if Claiborne frequently erred in the exercise of his autocratic powers it was no more than others would have done. He was honest, sincere, and generous in his aims and succeeded in avoiding any serious complication.

In the succeeding March Congress passed an act for the organization and government of the acquired territory for one year. So much of Louisiana as lay south of the 33rd parallel was cut off and named the Territory of Orleans. The remainder was to be called the District of Louisiana and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor and judges of the Indiana Territory. Orleans was organized into a separate province with a regular territorial government. The administrative authority was to be placed in the hands of a governor, a secretary, and a council of thirteen members, all appointed by the President. One superior court and such inferior courts as the council should see fit to create were to be established. Slave importation was limited to those brought in by American immigrants, and jury trial was limited to criminal prosecutions and civil suits in which the sum involved was not less than one hundred dollars. This plan met severe opposition in Congress, on account of the lack of a share in the government by the governed, but was held to be necessary by reason of the heterogeneous character of the population, their disaffection to the transfer, and their lack of political training in self-government. They were to receive liberty only as they proved themselves worthy of it and be introduced gradually to the beneficial effects of free institutions.

As the one year limit of the above government neared its end new acts were passed. An independent government was granted

to the District of Louisiana which was now organized as the Territory of Louisiana, with a governor, a secretary and three judges of its own. Orleans was given a General Assembly of twenty-five delegates, to be elected by the people and was promised that when her free inhabitants numbered sixty thousand, she should be made a State and admitted into the Union.

Turning now to the internal history of the purchase territory, it may be observed that the international diplomatic struggle and the political ferment at Washington affected the inhabitants of Louisiana but little. They were used to a transfer of their allegiance and had become hardened to changes of government. Never having had a share in the management of affairs, a majority of the people looked with indifference at the changes going on. The French and Spanish population hated the Americans, but at the same time envied their freedom and liberty and were partially reconciled to the supremacy of their government by the prospect of the inheritance of its blessings. Their attitude as well as that of many prominent foreigners may be gleaned from the dispatch of the French commissioner Laussat. "The Americans," said he, "have given \$15,000,000 for Louisiana; they would have given \$50,000,000 rather than not possess it. . . . In a few years the country as far as the Rio Brazos will be in a state of cultivation. New Orleans will then have a population of from 80,000 to 50,000 souls, and the country will produce enough sugar to supply America and part of Europe. . . . What a magnificent New France have we lost! The people are naturally gentle though touchy, proud, and brave. They have seen themselves rejected for a second time from the bosom of their mother-country. . . . Their interpretation of the cession, and their comments on it, show too clearly the extreme bitterness of their discontent. Nevertheless, they have become tolerably well disposed toward passing under the new government. . . . There are advantages in the Constitution of the United States of which it will be impossible to prevent them from experiencing the benefit. And being once freed from colonial fet-

ters, it would be unnatural to suppose that Louisiana would ever willingly resume them."

At the time of the transfer the population of the whole territory was about 50,000. Of these the French and Spanish creoles (people of French and Spanish descent born in Louisiana) formed the aristocracy and the ruling caste. In smaller numbers were Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Irish, indeed stragglers from many nations. Immigrants from Acadia, Germany, the Canaries, and the West Indies had formed settlements. A goodly proportion of the inhabitants were negroes, slaves and freedmen, while the mulattoes, quadroons, and octeroons, played a part in creole society not found elsewhere in the United States. Their strain of white blood raised them above the negroes and their strain of negro blood dragged them below the whites. Law and custom forbade social equality with the one, while pride and intelligence kept them from free admixture with the other. A peculiar set of regulations and customs grew up, galling but not altogether dishonorable, giving them a recognized place in the social scale.

Under the Spanish regime the province was divided into upper and lower Louisiana—New Madrid at the southern extremity of Missouri, being the dividing point. Below New Madrid were three-fourths of the population and seven-eighths of the wealth of the province. The most considerable places were Point Coupé, Baton Rouge, Opelousas, Natchitoches, Tchoupitoulas, and New Orleans. New Orleans was the capital and one of the most interesting cities in America. "Travelers," says McMaster, "filled their letters with accounts of the wide, yellow, tortuous river rushing along for hundred of miles without a tributary of any kind; of the levees that shut in the waters and kept their surface high above all the neighboring country; of the bayous where the alligators basked in the sunshine; of the strange vegetation of the cypress swamps and the palmettos; of the hanging moss, of the sloughs swarming with reptiles, of the pelicans, of the buzzards, of the herons, of the fiddler crabs, of houses

without cellars, and of cemeteries where there was no such thing as a grave which had been dug." The town had been laid out with all the regularity of a military camp. The Place d'Armes formed the center of the city and was overlooked by the Cabildo and many aristocratic residences. The streets were narrow, unpaved, forming a pond of mud and water after each rainstorm, and were named after the dukes of France—Chartres, Orleans, Maine, Bourbon, Toulouse. The rude fortifications surmounting the city were composed of a rampart of earth, and a wooden palisade, skirted by a slimy ditch, surrounding the city. At each of the four corners was a huge bastion mounting some rusty cannon, with another to the rear of the city—all able to frown upon but scarcely to injure an intruder.

The buildings which fronted the filthy streets were the admiration of all spectators. The architecture presented endless variety and color. Adobe structures with tiled roofs, brick houses adorned with yellow stucco, stone cathedrals, public buildings crowned by the magnificent Cabildo, elegant residences with arcades and inner courts, open galleries and porte-cochères, verandas, lattices, dormer windows, and gateways, transoms, and balconies of the finest wrought-iron work to be found in America. Social life centered in the coffee-houses, billiard-rooms, dance halls, the theater, and the levee. At twilight the levee swarmed with people, walking about in the fresh evening breeze, sitting under the orange trees that lined the river bank, or joining in the dancing, drinking, and singing on the decks of the vessels moored to the wharf. The high-spirited young creoles quarreled over their sweethearts, or their mistresses, or their games, and repaired at sunrise to The Oaks, which was the famous duelling-ground, where many a quarrel was composed at the ring of steel or the sight of blood, and many a life ruined by the consciousness of having killed a friend. The laws were cruel and irregularly administered. Religion was not wanting but it did not take firm hold of the people. No finer church than the St. Louis cathedral existed on the continent. Education was neglected.

The brilliant, facile, gay creole led a life of semi-ease and luxury, indulged in a round of social pleasures and dissipations, and found little time to devote to the profounder problems of life.

Agriculture and commerce formed the staple industries of the people. Plantations, cotton-fields, and sugar fields lined the river banks above New Orleans, while down its tortuous channel floated the broadhorns steered by the picturesque Mississippi river boatmen. The once sleepy levee now thronged with scores of river and ocean-going craft. The year before the transfer two hundred and sixty-five vessels sailed from the Mississippi, nearly two-thirds of them being American. The exports were valued at two millions of dollars while the imports reached half a million more. The exports were chiefly flour, salt beef and pork, tobacco, cotton, sugar, peltries, and lumber.

To the creole Upper Louisiana was a distant, rather hazy and indefinite settlement, far away on the barbarian frontier. They knew of it from the boatmen who steered their flat-bot-tomed craft to the river bank near the warehouses at New Orleans and told weird tales of the vast continent to the northward. The principal villages of the upper country were New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, St. Louis, and St. Charles, all hard by the banks of the Mississippi and the Missouri. Of this territory St. Louis, a thriving village of one thousand inhabitants, was the capital, where resided the lieutenant-governor in control of Upper Louisiana, and the other leading officers of administration. The fur trade was the chief industry of the region, although lead mining and grain raising were likewise pursued. The settlers were rather primitive and unsophisticated but hardy, energetic, and adventurous. It was nearly three months after the transfer of New Orleans to the United States that a similar ceremony took place in St. Louis from the old government building near the corner of Main and Walnut streets. Not until March 10, 1804, did Captain Amos Stoddard receive the territory of Upper Louisiana in the name of the United States and unfurl the stars and stripes to wave above the Upper Mississippi.

For some months Stoddard kept charge without making any serious changes in the official staff or the regulations of the former Spanish governor, Delassus. The people in general were apathetic regarding their rulers and did not seriously object to the transfer as did the loyal creoles of Orleans. According to the Act of Congress of March 26, 1804, the District of Louisiana passed for one year under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Indiana, governed by General William Henry Harrison and his council of judges, whose headquarters were alternately at Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia. In July 1805, the District was organized into Louisiana Territory, with an appointed governor, and a council of three judges. General James Wilkinson was chosen governor by President Jefferson and Frederic Bates secretary. Wilkinson was succeeded in 1807 by Captain Meriwether Lewis who was in turn succeeded by General Benjamin Howard in 1809.

During the early years following the transfer, two events of importance occurred in the purchased territory. The first was the unearthing of the notorious Aaron Burr conspiracy. Burr was a grandson of the saintly Jonathan Edwards and had been conspicuous from his early years for brilliance, audacity, cunning, and ambition. He had been read out of the Republican party for trying to beat Jefferson out of the presidency and had ruined his hopes of a legitimate political career by murdering Alexander Hamilton in a duel. While yet Vice-President of the United States and presiding over the Senate with a dignity and grace never surpassed, he harbored treason in his soul and formed a gigantic conspiracy, at once alluring and bold but impossible, and set about its accomplishment with a skill and hardihood worthy of a nobler cause. His designs were shadowy but his central aim was to use the adventurers along the frontier and the discontented in Louisiana to cut off as much of the West from the Union as appeared possible and with all the territory he could slice off the Spanish domain establish an empire where Aaron Burr would be supreme. From New York he brought a

number of his Tammany friends and in the West Blennerhassett and Wilkinson lent their aid. Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay and Governor Claiborne were unsuccessfully approached. But his tools were not perfectly selected. Wilkinson had been engaged in too many conspiracies on his own account to be caught in one where he was not chief and when failure threatened the expedition he turned traitor to Burr. Contemptible and guilty as he was his energy and ability in putting down the conspiracy, aided as they were by his knowledge of Burr's plans, coupled with careful political manipulation, saved him from punishment. Burr was captured, tried, and set free, for want of convicting evidence; but he remained ever afterward a political and social outcast.

The other event of importance was the magnificent expedition of Lewis and Clark. An expedition to the Pacific had been suggested by Jefferson fifteen years before and had been urged upon the American Philosophical Society with such force that a subscription was opened for such an enterprise in 1792. In 1801 Captain Meriwether Lewis and a French botanist started out but the Frenchman was recalled and the enterprise abandoned. When in 1803 a good opportunity arose, Jefferson urged Congress to provide for the expedition which it did. Lewis was again selected and chose for his associate Captain William Clark, of the United States army. Lewis was a young Virginian of excellent family, possessed of a good education, sound intelligence, and a courage and tenacity of purpose which nothing could shake. He had seen military service under Anthony Wayne and was for three years President Jefferson's private secretary. His associate, William Clark, was a brother of George Rogers Clark, who had also served under Wayne, and who was a trained frontiersman of great ability and courage. He was thoroughly familiar with Indian nature and to his skill in dealing with them much of the credit of the expedition was due. It was an excellent combination for they seemed to lack no quality or accomplishment which could add to the success of such an exploration.

They started up the Missouri with about twenty-five com-

panions in the spring of 1804. They toiled painfully forward against the muddy and tempestuous current and were compelled to spend the first winter among the Mandan Indians in a fort near the present site of Bismarck. In the spring they continued their voyage into Montana, left the headwaters of the Missouri, plunged into the wild canons of the Rockies, crossed the divide, and ferreted out the headwaters of the Snake river. Down this stream they floated into the Columbia, thence to its mouth where on November 15, 1805, they beheld "the waves like small mountains rolling out in the sea." They wintered on the Pacific and in the spring set out to retrace their journey and in September, 1806 were again in St. Louis.

This gigantic wilderness journey has scarce a parallel in the annals of history. For over two years had they wandered in an unknown world. Nearly eight thousand miles had they traveled, scarcely a league of which did not bristle with peril. They had gone without harm through the most dangerous Indian tribes showing a management of the savages which was a marvel of adroitness and humanity. They lost only one man by death and not one of their subordinates faltered. One Indian was shot by Captain Lewis when the lives of the party seemed to depend on a sudden show of vigor but as a whole the expedition forms the pleasantest and most creditable record in American frontier life. They opened a pathway of light through the great West and paved the way for the future settlement and control of the Oregon country.

While Lewis and Clark were opening a pathway to the Upper Missouri and the distant Pacific an equally heroic spirit was gaining accurate knowledge of the sources of the Mississippi. General Zebulon M. Pike set out from St. Louis in August, 1805 to explore Minnesota, and the region about the headwaters of the Mississippi. The next year he made another expedition from St. Louis, crossing Missouri, thence into the present Indian Territory, northward across Kansas into Nebraska and then southwest to the Rockies. Pushing up the Arkansas he gazed upon

the lordly peak that bears his name and measured its height. From there he went southward in the dead of winter, suffering unspeakable agonies of hunger and cold, and finally reached the Rio Grande only to be captured by the Spaniards. He was released after a short time and reached the American fort at Natchitoches in July, 1807. Through the journals of these explorations added to the expedition of Lewis and Clark the American public first realized what a glorious achievement the Louisiana Purchase had been.

As Laussat had predicted to his government the Territory of Orleans developed rapidly. A majority of the people were soon reconciled to the new government, although a number of the Spanish soldiers and leaders remained, intriguing and hoping for a retrocession until actually driven out. By 1810 there were twenty-five thousand people in New Orleans and the immediate vicinity and the population of the whole of Orleans amounted to more than seventy-five thousand. An enabling act was therefore passed by Congress to provide for erecting the Territory into a state. A convention was called which proclaimed a Constitution. The Territory then applied formally for admission into the Union under the name of Louisiana and was admitted on April 30, 1812, being the ninth anniversary of the treaty of cession.

Thus by the admission of the first state carved from that vast domain beyond the Mississippi the final disposition of the whole of it was determined. The remnant of the old Federalists had taken up the narrow constitutional view advanced by Jefferson when he first received the treaty of cession and denied the right of Congress to admit states except from the territory within the limits of the Union at the adoption of the Constitution. After dwelling upon this constitutional objection Josiah Quincy in a speech before the House continued passionately: "To me it appears that this measure [for the admission of Louisiana] would justify a revolution in this country. I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that, if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose

it are free from their moral obligations; and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably if they can, violently if they must.” He was interrupted by cries of “Order! Order!” but was later allowed to continue his remarks in which he outlined the fears of New England and some other parts of the East that the scepter of power would soon slip from their grasp to be wielded by denizens of the wilds beyond the Alleghanies and even beyond the Mississippi. This violent outburst accomplished nothing as the precedent set by the passage of the bill was final.

One more event and the new State must drop from our record. Scarcely two years had passed when a foreign foe was again at New Orleans. While Napoleon was languishing at Elba England determined to seize the territory he had sold to keep out of her power. For two years our feeble nation, rent with political selfishness and strife, had been waging a forlorn struggle with England, attended with astounding success on the sea and indifferent success on the northern frontier. When England for a time had her hands free she sent out a magnificent armament of twenty thousand veterans, perfectly equipped and well officered. Sir Edward Pakenham had charge and the landing at the mouth of the Mississippi was effected in the latter part of 1814. The Louisiana Purchase was to become a British empire in spite of Napoleon and the young republic.

But Andrew Jackson was in the way. With all his faults Jackson was the archetype of imperious energy and natural born leadership. Men obeyed him by instinct and trusted him by compulsion. Out of as heterogeneous a mob as general ever commanded he wrought in a few short days an army that performed miracles. Behind hastily improvised breastworks of the rudest sort a droll confusion of men, arms, and equipment awaited the attack of 10,000 of Wellington’s veterans. Behind the main line were only 3,200 men,—lank Tennessee and Kentucky frontiersmen, clad in brown homespun and armed with the long and deadly rifles with which they had been accustomed to pick squirrels out

of the tallest trees; Louisiana creoles, in gay and varied uniforms, singing the Marseillaise but loyal to the Union; unwashed pirates from the swamps of Barataria; troops of negroes, sailors, mulattoes, and a few regulars from the American army. Every move of Pakenham was checkmated by the decision and resourcefulness of Jackson and nothing apparently remained but to storm the intrenchments. At the head of the advancing column Pakenham fell mortally wounded. The second in command soon followed. The lines wavered, fell back, were reformed and again charged into the rain of lead and death. Again they halted, sickened, gave way. One short hour ended the carnage and Lambert, the fourth in command, led off the broken columns, put them on board ship and since that day no foreign foe has encamped upon the free soil of the United States. Two thousand British soldiers had that day perished while within the American breastworks only six men were killed and seven wounded. Jackson had won the presidency and the West had exemplified its patriotism and military prowess.

The State of Louisiana was soon followed into the Union by others. In 1812 the country north of Louisiana was organized as the Missouri Territory with a governor, appointed by the President, a directly elected House of Representatives, and an indirectly elected council of nine members. The intrepid William Clark became governor and retained the office until Missouri was admitted as a State in 1821. The admission of Missouri caused the bitterest struggle of the era which ended in the famous Missouri Compromise. The new State contained the most favored portion of the territory, comprising within her borders the varied resources of a self-sustaining empire, and speedily took rank as one of the large States, steadily advancing until it reached fifth place in population and wealth. St. Louis soon outstripped her elder sister, New Orleans, and has remained the leading city west of the Mississippi.

Missouri was followed in steady succession by ten other States. The tide of emigration rolled steadily westward, wave

upon wave, flooding the rich alluvial valleys, and gradually rising to the more sterile hilltops beyond. The Indians and the buffalo melted away and the wilderness crumbled before the onslaught of civilization. Arkansas was organized into a separate Territory in 1819 and admitted into the Union as a State in 1836. Iowa Territory was organized in 1838 and admitted into the Union in 1845. Minnesota was made a Territory in 1849 and erected into a State in 1858. The bitter Kansas-Nebraska struggle culminated in 1854 and Kansas became a State in 1861. Nebraska followed in 1867. Colorado was erected into a Territory in 1861 and admitted to statehood 1876. Dakota Territory, organized in 1861, was split into North and South Dakota and the two States admitted at the beginning of Harrison's administration in 1889. Montana, made a Territory in 1864, was admitted 1889. Wyoming followed these States the next year. Thus twelve States have already been carved from the huge domain and it only remains for Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory to be united into the thirteenth. Each State will then represent only a little more than one million of the original fifteen million dollars purchase money.

The riches of this stupendous acquisition are incalculable. It is now inhabited by fifteen million people (three times the population of the whole United States at the time of the purchase) and would support with ease twenty-five times its present number. It is "the granary of the world, the inexhaustible storehouse of the base and precious metals, rich in every element of present prosperity and far richer in every element of future opulence." Its teeming millions will some day bring the center of population across the Mississippi, and its energy, intelligence, and ambition will make it a center of culture as well as of wealth. As it is to be the host of the world in the coming months, so will it continue to rivet the attention of the nations, when its hills and its valleys, its mines and its manufactures, its fields and its pastures, its farms and its vineyards, give forth their storehouses to feed and clothe and warm and vitalize a needy world. The

Anglo-Saxon race began its career of progress on the banks of the Thames; it will end that progress in the valley of the Mississippi. The history of the Mississippi valley is unique; its present wealth and prosperity is marvelous; its hope for the future is lost in boundless sublimity. Truly does the Louisiana Purchase rank third in the events of importance in United States history.

THE END.

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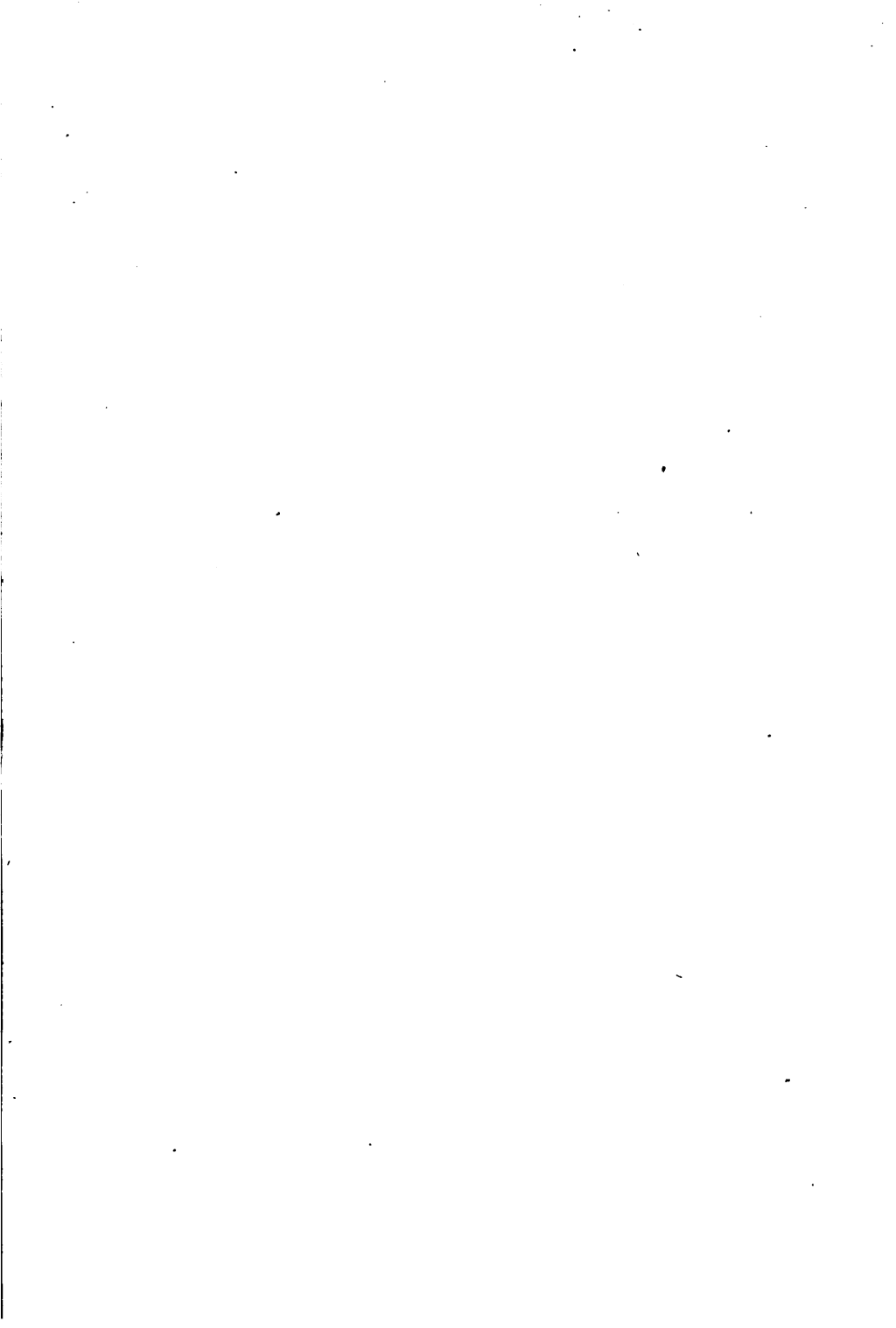
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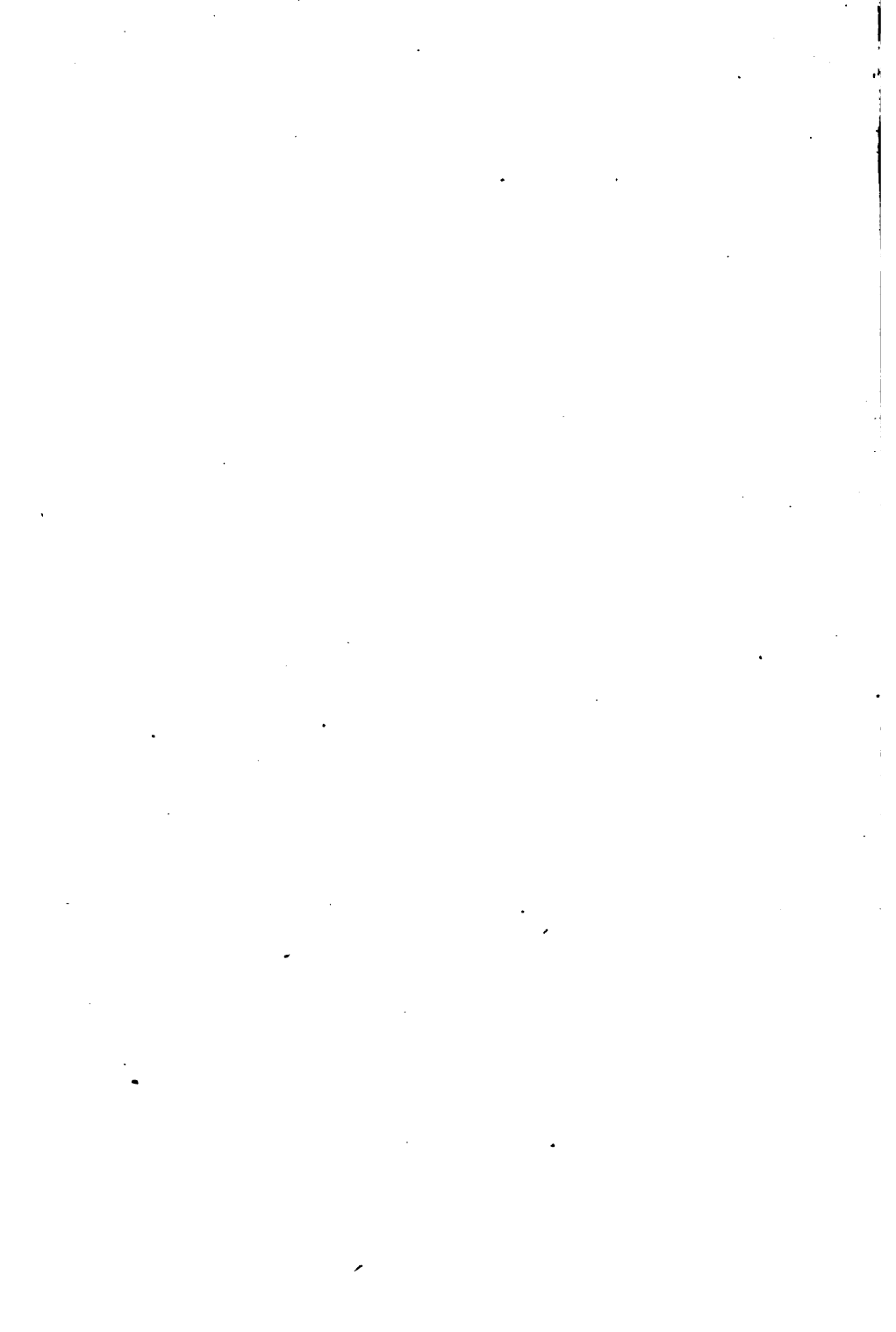
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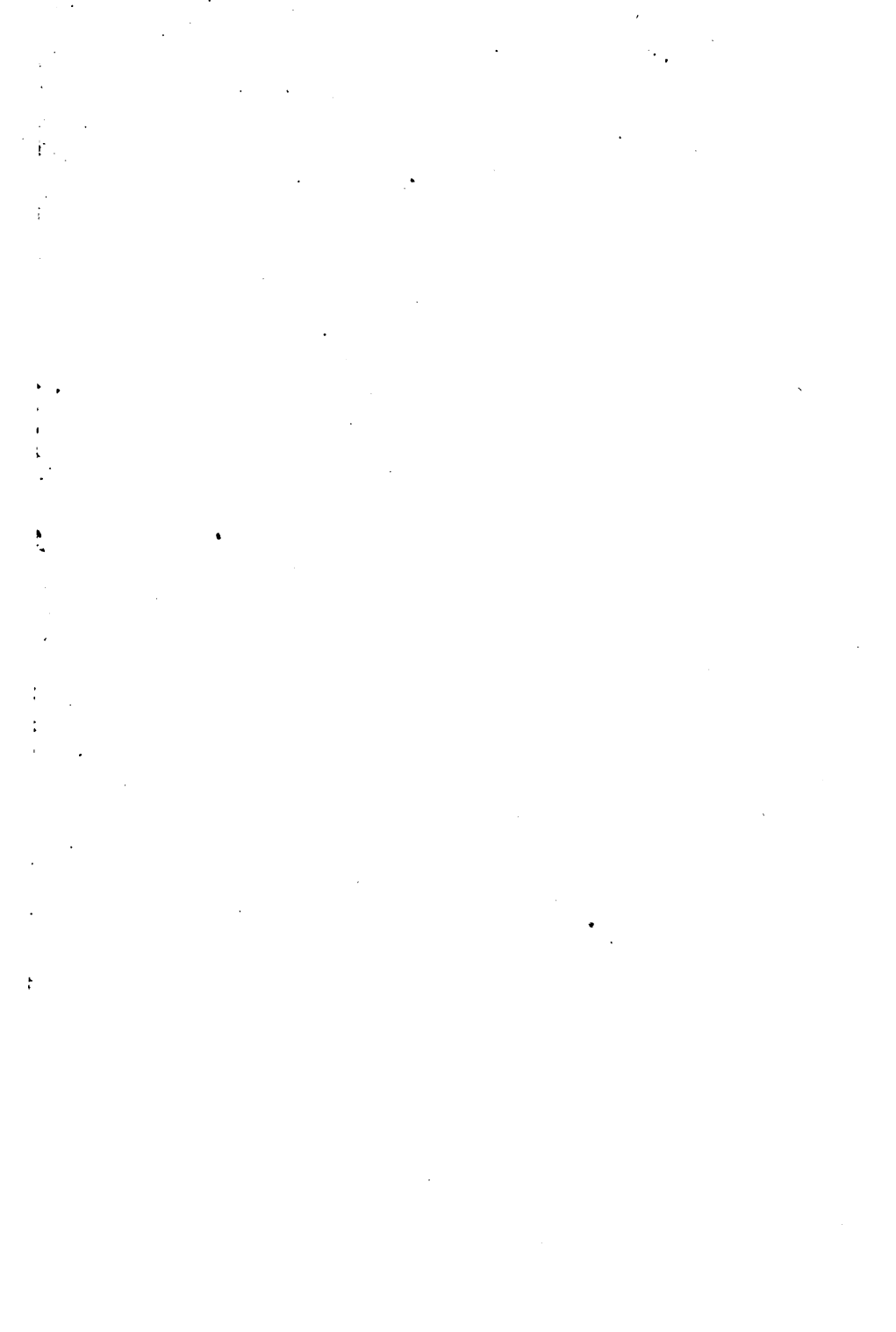
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